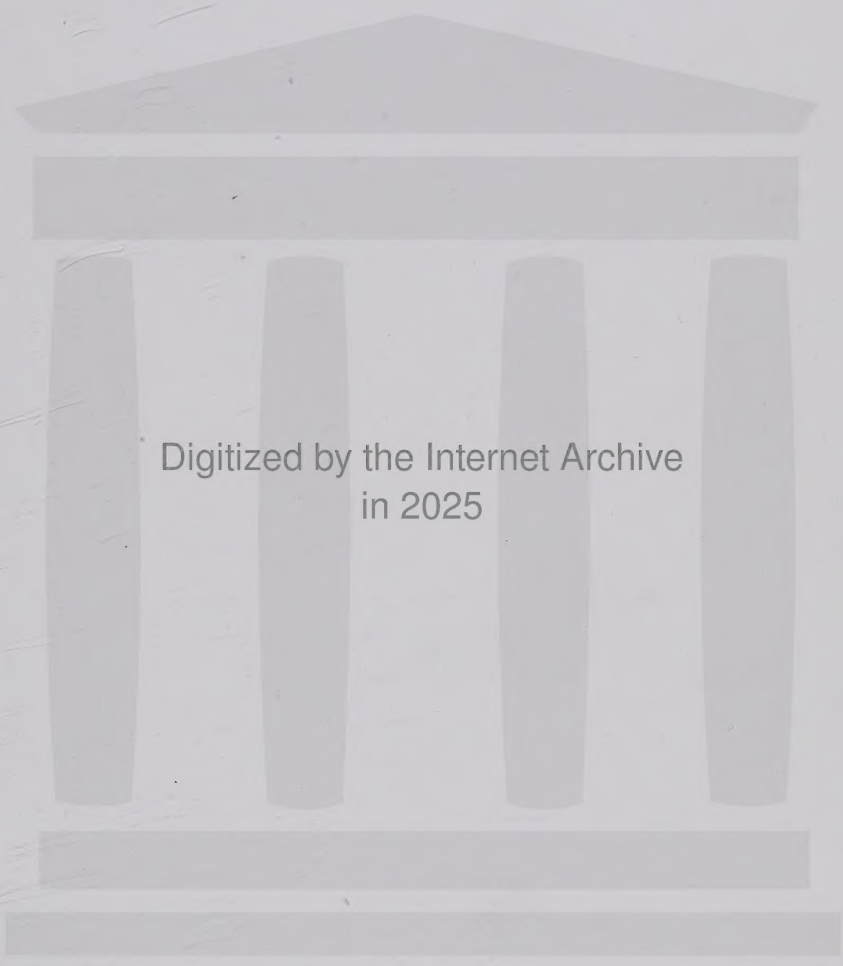
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CHS. SOUBRE NETHERLANDS X BY PERMISSION HANFSTAENGL & CO

THE BANQUET OF THE BEGGARS

(The Nobles of Holland and Belgium Vow to Fight for Freedom against Spain)

From the painting by the contemporary Flemish artist, Charles Soubre

THE Netherlands, or at least that northern portion of them which we now call Holland, date their independent existence from the year 1566. They had been subjects of the mighty empire of the terrible Spanish king Philip II. But the awful cruelties and executions caused by his religious "Inquisition" drove them to a revolt of despair. When the rebellion began, Philip's half-sister, Margaret of Parma, was his regent in Brussels, the capital of the Netherlands. A huge gathering of the people drew from her a promise to try to suppress the Inquisition. "Are you afraid," asked one of her courtiers contemptuously, "of these beggars?" He referred not only to the rabble of poor folk, but also to the lesser nobles who had become impoverished by their opposition to King Philip.

At a banquet held by these nobles the same evening the name of "beggars," which had thus been applied to them in scorn, was adopted in defiance. A beggar's bowl and wallet were passed around the cheering assembly, and each man took oath to give up everyting for the cause and become a beggar in very truth. In the midst of the tumult the great leader of the Netherlands, William of Orange, entered the banquet-hall. He was at once called to join the new organization; and though as a great noble of vast estates he did not and indeed could not promise to become a beggar, he drank to the success of their cause. From that moment the armed rebellion began; and William became its hero.

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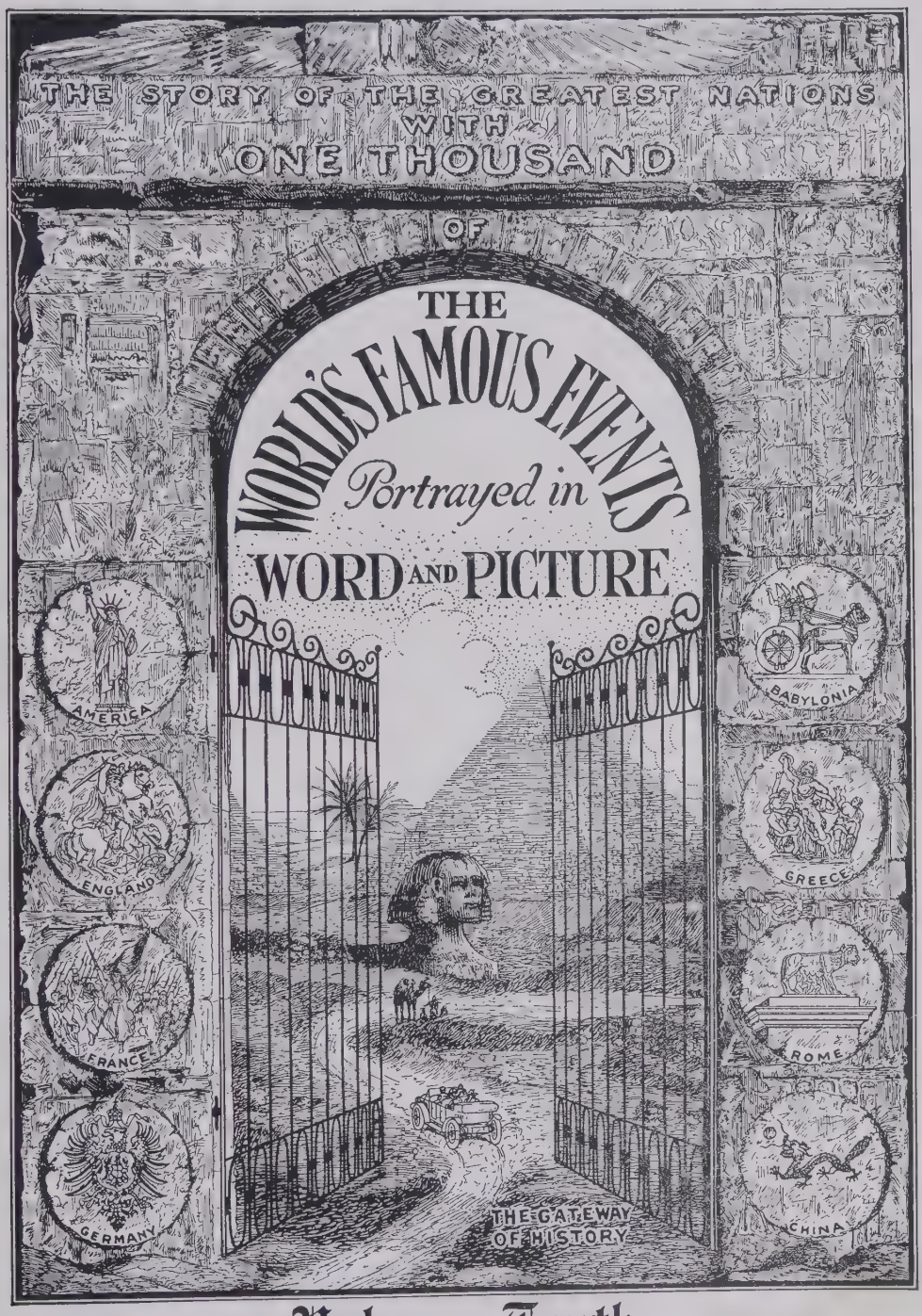

Volume Tenth

The Story of the Greatest Nations

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY, EXTENDING FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT, FOUNDED ON THE MOST MODERN AUTHORITIES, AND INCLUDING CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARIES AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARIES FOR EACH NATION

And

The World's Famous Events

TOLD IN A SERIES OF BRIEF SKETCHES FORMING A SINGLE CONTINUOUS STORY OF HISTORY AND ILLUMINED BY A COMPLETE SERIES OF NOTABLE ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE GREAT HISTORIC PAINTINGS OF ALL LANDS

By

EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.

AND

CHARLES F. HORNE, PH.D.

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ERTOGHRUL TAKING POSSESSION OF SULTAN-ŒNI

THE STORY OF THE GREATEST NATIONS

MODERN NATIONS—TURKEY

Chapter I

FOUNDING OF THE KINGDOM OF OSMAN

[*Authorities—General:* Von Hammer Purgstall, "History of the Ottoman Empire" (in German); Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Turks"; Larpent, "History of the Turkish Empire"; Lamartine, "History of Turkey"; Cantemir, "History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire"; Morris, "The Turkish Empire"; Lane-Poole, "The Story of Turkey"; Garnett, "Turkish Life in Town and Country"; Grosvenor, "Constantinople."—*Special:* Vambery, "The Turkish Races."]

CONSTANTINOPLE, the Turkish capital, the mysterious, ancient, ever-flourishing city, sacred alike to Christian and Mahometan, stands in its wondrous beauty upon European shores; yet Turkey is an Asiatic State. Her story belongs to Asia, the world of dreamy fancy and lurid legend, not of sober fact and accurately dated history. Hence one can speak of Turkey only after the fashion of her own clime, repeating the poetic fantasies with which her writers have adorned her early days, enjoying the beauty and noting the symbolism of each new tale, but with not too deep a faith in its mathematical veracity.

The story deals first with Ertoghrul, whose name means the right-hearted man; and the hero who succeeds him is Osman, the limb-breaker. The

significant titles indicate the chief qualities for which the Turks take pride in their far ancestors. Those founders of the race were sturdy warriors and "right-hearted" men of honor.

This is certainly not the general conception of the Turks, held by the peoples of the West; but if we are to appreciate or understand at all the marvellous rise of this fierce yet romantic race, we must begin by casting aside the false ideas which many of us have acquired through dwelling only on the evil side of the character of a fallen foe. Let us start on the basis of a few plain facts. Western ignorance and indeed indifference as regards things Asiatic, are so dense that we blunder over the very name of this people and of their land. To speak of the Turkish Empire at Constantinople is as mistaken as to speak of the Caucasian Empire at London. *Turk* is really a general name covering all the nations and tribes which once spread over northern Asia and most of Russia. The name, to a gentleman of Constantinople, suggests something of wildness and barbarism. His own nation is a special branch of the Turkish race, the one that has risen above all others in intellect, in civilization and fame. The members of this noteworthy people are called the Osmanli, for they are the followers of Osman, or as the West has carelessly spelled it, Othman. Their domain, by a still further perversion of sound, we entitle the Ottoman Empire.

Turn now to the tale of its beginning. The first leader, Ertoghrul, steps into the light of romance as a hero of about the middle of the thirteenth century, the central figure of a striking and characteristic episode. At the time of his appearance the great religious crusades were just at an end, and if they had disrupted European kingdoms, far more had they shaken and shattered the East. The vast empire of the Mahometan Arabs had fallen into fragments; and Western Asia, the region of Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, the birthplace of civilization, was occupied by a confusion of many peoples, the most numerous among them being perhaps of Turkish race, descendants of the many bands of Turks which for centuries had wandered down from the wild and barren north-east. One tribe of these Turks, the Seljuks, had even founded a sort of empire of their own in Asia Minor. Their rulers or Sultans had established their capital at Iconium and had fought valiantly against the Crusaders. But their power had wasted to a shadow, they were staggering under the assaults of other invading hordes.

Into this world of tumult and confusion there entered another Turkish people, as yet a tribe without fixed name, the Osmanli of the future. They were "khazak" or cossacks, which means wanderers,—nomads, owners of vast flocks and herds with which they roamed over the wide grassy wildernesses of the north. Following in the footsteps of endless earlier tribes, they grew numerous and strong and began to push their way southward, seeking ever pleasanter, warmer dwelling-lands with richer pasturage. They had crossed Armenia, taking uncounted years,

(The Empire at Its Widest Extent Under Solyman the Magnificent)

RECENT events have driven the Turk almost out of his two sacred cities, Constantinople and Adrianople, once widespread European possessions has been his "manifest destiny" for more than a century; so that it is a difficult matter for the present generation to realize what a power the their advance once seemed to the European nations.

To gain some realization of Turkey's past strength, give a glance at the accompanying map, which shows her empire as it stood a little over three centuries ago, in the year 1590, east, it extended farther than Rome's power had ever done, crowding close against the capital city of a defeated and al- Egypt and all northern Africa. The fleets of his adherents islands, Sicily, Sardinia and even at times the far westward Coast and had defeated the Russians and the Poles, pausing only when the land seemed too barren and too cold for conquest. Westward they had been moving onward for two centuries despite all the concentrated opposition of Europe. And over all this vast empire Solyman ruled as absolute master.

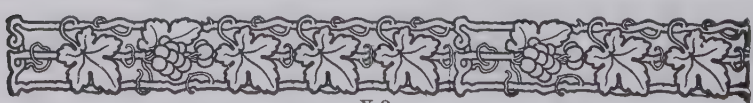
THE TURKISH EMPIRE

(The Empire at Its Widest Extent Under Solyman the Magnificent)

Drawn specially for this series by Austin Smith

RECENT events have driven the Turk almost out of Europe. He still clings only to its extreme shore where his two sacred cities, Constantinople and Adrianople, form now the outposts of his domain. This retreat from his once widespread European possessions has been his "manifest destiny" for more than a century; so that it is a difficult matter for the present generation to realize what a power the Turks once had, what a terribly menacing overwhelming flood their advance once seemed to the European nations.

To gain some realization of Turkey's past strength, give a glance at the accompanying map, which shows her empire as it stood a little over three centuries ago, in the year 1590, under the great Sultan, Solyman the Magnificent. To the east, it extended farther than Rome's power had ever done, crowding close against the capital city of a defeated and almost conquered Persia. To the south, the Sultan ruled over Egypt and all northern Africa. The fleets of his adherents swept the Mediterranean and held as provinces all its great islands, Sicily, Sardinia and even at times the far westward Balearic Isles. Northward the Turks held all the Black Sea Coast and had defeated the Russians and the Poles, pausing only when the land seemed too barren and too cold for conquest. Westward they had been moving onward for two centuries despite all the concentrated opposition of Europe. And over all this vast empire Solyman ruled as absolute master.



VIENNA
AUSTRIA
POLAND
Buda
Lemberg
HUNGARY
Szigeth
TRANNSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Jassy
Mohacs
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Hermanstadt
Save R.
Peterwardein
WALLACHIA
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERVIA
Nicopolis
Plevna
BULGARIA
Balkan Mts.
Varna
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
ALBANIA
Otranto
ROUMELIA
Maritza R.
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
BLACK SEA
CRIMEA
KAFFA
Azov
Don R.
Volga R.
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Tiflis
Sinope
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Brusa
SULTAN-ŒNI
Saqutá
Angora
Trebizond
Tabriz
PREVESA
LEPANTO
GREECE
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
Pergamos
AEGEAN Sea
Iconium
CARAMANIA
PERSIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RHODES
CRETE
Antioch
Aleppo
Baghdad
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
CYPRUS
Damascus
Tripoli
Jerusalem
ALEXANDRIA
AFRICA
EGYPT
Cairo
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100 200 300 400 500
PERSIAN GULF

perhaps generations, in their advance. They were moving down the Upper Euphrates River into Syria, when their chief was drowned in the stream, leaving part of his inheritance to a young son, Ertoghrul, too youthful, thought his wild followers, to give them protection or to deserve obedience. So the tribe scattered in all directions, as fancy moved them. Only a remnant of the most loyal clung to Ertoghrul, leaving him a band of four hundred and forty-four horsemen, a fitting, symbolic number of faithful and valiant clansmen.

In his wanderings the new chief had heard of the great Turkish Sultan at Iconium, and with this lord he resolved to seek shelter and service for his people. Journeying through the wilds of Asia Minor, he and his followers heard one day a furious clash of arms. Watching from a hill, they saw two armies in the shock of battle, and the weaker side, though fighting desperately, began to give way before overwhelming numbers. With characteristic chivalry and impetuosity, Ertoghrul stayed not to learn the causes of the quarrel, but crying to his band that they must restore the uneven balance, he led them in a wild charge into the affray. Small as the troop was, the shock of its unexpected appearance and attack decided the fortune of the day. The enemy fled, and Ertoghrul, showered with the thanks and praise of those whom he had rescued, found that their general was the very ruler he was seeking,—the Sultan of Iconium.

It may be imagined how eagerly the Sultan accepted the adherence of these proven veterans. He conferred on them the lordship of a province in northern Asia Minor, centering about the city of Saguta, and charged them to defend the land against the ever-recurring invasions of the Tartar hordes. Ertoghrul ruled wisely, and gathered round him a strong army from the inhabitants of the district and from the many adventurers, chiefly of Turkish race, who joined his standard. He soon found that he was really an independent ruler, who must rely on his own resources. Wandering bands like his own were constantly appearing to attack him. The Sultan's authority was only a shadow. Each warlike Emir (lord) of a city fought against the others, and the only law was that of the strongest.

By that law Ertoghrul proved his right to rule. Very gradually he made himself assured master of the territories that had been granted him. In a battle fought against the forces of the Greek cities bordering the coast of the Black Sea, he originated a new style of tactics which remained for centuries the favorite mode of attack among his people. He repeatedly sent his light troops against the enemy, not to lock with them in death-grapple, but to harass, bewilder and exhaust the foe. Then seizing the vital moment, the chieftain swept his lighter forces aside and charged with his own veterans, fresh, fierce, and eager to prove their right to the proud supremacy they held.

A complete victory resulted, and Ertoghrul was thereafter recognized as the chief lieutenant of the feeble Sultan, and as defender of all the northern frontiers.

His province was greatly enlarged, and to it was given the name of Sultan-Œni,—the Sultan's stand.

The new Emir of Sultan-Œni always remained loyal to the trust he had accepted, and maintained his nominal allegiance to the Sultan at Iconium. Hence he was not the founder of a new kingdom, though his province was practically an independent state and the best governed and best ordered in Asia Minor. The "right-hearted" Emir died in 1288 and left his authority to his son Osman, the limb-breaker.

As to whether Ertoghrul and his people had adopted the Mahometan faith before entering Asia Minor, the Turkish historians differ. The more commonly accepted legend represents them as rude, uncultured pagans. Their leader, we are assured, was first made acquainted with the Koran in the house of a Mahometan whom he saw reading it. Being told the book was the word of God, Ertoghrul examined it and was so impressed that he stood erect and in that attitude of reverence continued reading the entire night. Then, as if in a vision, he heard a solemn voice from above which spoke a promise: "Since thou hast read with such respect My Eternal word, even in the same manner shall thy children and thy children's children be honored from generation to generation."

Despite this vision, young Osman seems to have been brought up in the pagan faith of his ancestors, for the pretty love legend of his youth, a favorite theme of Oriental poets, is based on his conversion. According to the tales, there was a learned Mahometan sheik who dwelt in a village near Ertoghrul's capital. More famed even than the learning of the sheik was the beauty of his one daughter Malkhatoon or the moon maiden; and the lad Osman, first attracted to the house by the wisdom of the sire, remained as a suitor for the daughter. The sheik refused the alliance because Osman was an unbeliever; and the young prince submitted reverently. Still raving however, of his lady-love, he described her beauty in such impassioned terms to a neighboring Emir that the latter also became enamored, and striving to win the maid by rougher means, drove her and her father to seek shelter in the home of her more respectful admirer. Here the discourses of the sheik completed the conversion of Osman. Like his father Ertoghrul, the shrewd young convert had a vision. In this, if we omit the flowery details and symbols so dear to Turkish fancy, he saw a picture of the descendants of himself and the moon maiden governing the whole earth and, through the power of many crescent scimeters, spreading throughout their domains the religion of Mahomet.

So impressive a vision would scarce allow itself to be misunderstood or disobeyed. The young pair were wedded, Osman's warlike followers adopted his new religion with its invitation to conquest, and Mahometanism took a fresh lease of life. Over five centuries had elapsed since the exhaustion of that first impulse which sent the Arab followers of Mahomet across half the known world with the

THE REVIVAL OF MAHOMETANISM

(Osman and His Turks Adopt the Mahometan Faith)

From the Turkish historical series by T. C. Jack, of Edinburgh

THE advance of the Turks may fairly be said to have begun with their acceptance of Mahometanism under their leader Osman at the close of the thirteenth century. Before this they were a wild Tartar tribe who, wandering forth from Central Asia, had accepted service under a Mahometan king or sultan of Asia Minor and had been given rule over the district of Sultan-Œni. At this period, nearly seven hundred years after Mahomet's death, his warlike religion had lost its original impulse of conquest. The tide of Mahometanism no longer threatened to engulf the world; on the contrary it was ebbing. The Christian Crusades had broken its power and its enthusiasm; and Mahometans talked of martyrdom and death rather than of victory and glory.

Then Osman, the young head of the Turkish tribe, had or declared he had, a vision urging him to accept Mahometanism and promising that under his leadership the faith would revive and sweep the earth in conquest. He was wooing at the time the daughter of a Mahometan religious teacher. She was called the Moon Maiden; and Osman's vision mingled the crescent of the moon with the crescent-shaped scimetars of his followers, and chose the crescent as the symbol of his new faith and purpose. His followers eagerly accepted his mystic promises of exalted deeds and much plunder; and they followed their chief into his new faith much as they would have followed him in any other dashing enterprise.

X.3

Koran and the sword. Their remarkable empire had long disappeared, but their religion remained, and now a new myriad of scimeters were consecrated to the work of conversion.

In many respects Mahometanism resembles Christianity. It has indeed been called a debased form of the earlier faith; for its followers accept the teachings of Christ, whom they regard as a great prophet whose commands have, however, been supplanted, and to some extent superseded, by those of the later and greater prophet, Mahomet. His doctrines are eminently fitted to inspire a rude and warlike race, for they expressly direct the spreading of the faith by the sword, and they promise physical bliss, instant and perfect, to all who perish in the holy strife. Thus by the word of Osman, what had been only a band of nomads, doubtless a mixture of many races, Mongols and Turcomans as well as Turks, growing like a snowball larger and more heterogeneous in their wandering advance —this mass was welded into a single nation, inspired by one common impulse.

Osman followed quietly at first in his father's footsteps, completing and enforcing his power over Sultan-Œni. He was a wise and just ruler, and not until after many years of peace did he (1299) begin to extend his territory through conquest. One of his earliest aggressive expeditions gave rise to another legend, treasured by his people as typical of their race. Being about to seize one of the Greek fortresses upon his borders, Osman called a council of his warriors. His aged uncle, who had accompanied Ertoghrul in all the wanderings of the tribe, pleaded for caution. Whereon Osman, fearing that his followers would begin to look coldly on his schemes, snatched up a bow and shot his uncle dead. No man after that dared counsel him to peace.

It was not, however, until twenty years after his father's death that Osman assumed a wholly independent sovereignty. His wars were fought and his provinces held in the name of the Sultans of Iconium. In 1307, the last of these to whom he had sworn allegiance died; upon which Osman abandoned the few remaining forms of vassalage and continued his career of conquest as a monarch in his own right. He did not change his simple title of Emir or lord for that of Sultan or supreme ruler; but about this time he took to himself the two most distinctive attributes and privileges of sovereignty in the East. He bade that the public prayers of Sultan-Œni be said in his own name, and he coined money bearing the stamp of his own head. Thus it was he, rather than his father, who became the founder of a new kingdom. It was he who gave it its new religious impulse, and from him it has become known as the realm of Osman and of his successors, the Osmanli.

THE VISION OF SOLYMAN

Chapter II

THE FIRST PERIOD OF POWER AND THE FALL OF BAJAZET

[*Authorities:* As before, also Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire"; Freeman, "History of the Ottoman Power in Europe"; Tilly, "Eastern Europe and Western Asia."]

FROM the doubtful kingship of a petty border state to the assured sovereignty of a mighty empire, is no easy climb; nor did the Osmanli achieve it in a single generation. Emir Osman himself was busy all his life warring against the Greek cities of the Black Sea. These had seen the rise and then the fall of many a power such as his, and, protected by walls and fleets, had managed to maintain a practical independence of all. They treated the new conqueror with but half-veiled scorn. They admitted that he might be able to ravage their outlying territories as others had done, or storm an occasional country fortress; but the great cities themselves he could not harm—and he too would pass away.

Osman, however, was more patient than earlier conquerors. Outside each city's gates he erected forts which served to shelter permanent garrisons; his soldiers remained year after year to plunder all who ventured forth. Yet the cities, provisioned by their fleets, continued to defy him, and it was not until the very year of his death that Osman, or rather his son Orchan, achieved the capture of Brusa after a siege of eight long years. Brusa, situated on the little sea of Marmora looking toward Europe, was one of the three greatest of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and its fall drew the startled attention of all the East. The dying Osman commanded with pride that his body should be buried there in remembrance of the triumph he had achieved.

STARTING THE CAREER OF CONQUEST

Osman Shoots the Timid Counsellor Who Would Restrain Him From War

From the historical series by T. C. York

STARTING THE CAREER OF CONQUEST

Osman Shoots the Timid Counsellor Who Would Restrain Him From War))

From the historical series by T. C. Jack

IT is not easy to place the vivid events of Osman's leadership in strict chronological succession. Perhaps he began his career of warfare even before he adopted Mahometanism. A typical Oriental legend connects the opening of that career with a deed of murder. Osman's aged father had been content, nay proud, at having made his little band of Turks masters of the rich region of Sultan-Œni. Young Osman urged that they should go on and extend their sway over all Asia Minor. He was opposed in council by his aged uncle, who declared that their followers were too few and feeble for such extensive warfare, so he counseled peace. Even as the venerable speaker argued, Osman snatched a bow and shot him dead, crying out that thus would he deal with all cowards and feeble-minded followers. After that, the young tyrant was given his own way; indeed, his warlike tribe accepted him enthusiastically.

Conquest of the shifting, wandering Asiatics was never hard to win by a sudden stroke; but all along the sea-coast of Asia Minor there lay strong walled Greek cities, each practically independent, impregnable against the assault of the feebly-armed Asiatic tribes, and secure in their fleets and the freedom of the sea. Osman resolved to conquer these. He placed a besieging force before the gates of each and maintained this siege for years, shutting each city off from all communication with the land, until one after another the proud Greek communities surrendered to starvation and acknowledged Osman as their overlord.

X-4

In studying the career of Osman we can see what has given such permanence to the Turkish dominion. It was established, at least in its earlier advance, by love, not fear, by benefits conferred, rather than sufferings inflicted. Other Asiatic monarchs have built up more sudden, more wide-spreading empires; but these terrible men have flashed like blood-stained meteors before the eyes of a devastated world. Their conquests have been vast raids of destruction, which left behind only hatred of themselves. Their captured provinces, held only by force, have broken away at the first sign of the conqueror's exhaustion. The power of Osman was not thus lost in the winning. It was extended slowly. Between his wars, there were long periods of peace. As each neighboring province was acquired, it was carefully assimilated. Though known to his people as a warrior, he was even more admired as a just and generous ruler. They called him Kara Osman, which means the black Osman, but not in the evil sense the term would have with us, for the Turks admire swarthy men. Hence the phrase suggests to them Osman the darkly beautiful, the nobly attractive and commanding. Despite that sudden slaying of his uncle, so repellent to Western ideas, Osman is regarded by his countrymen as almost a saint. The wish with which each new Sultan of Turkey is greeted is that he may be, not as great, but as good as Osman.

The death of the founder of the kingdom left his authority to his two sons, Aladdin and Orchan, between whom a contest of generosity at once arose. Aladdin was the elder, but the European rule of succession was by no means fully established amid the Turks. Indeed, in their old days of wandering, it had been the youngest son who remained to care for the aged parents, and who finally took possession of the homestead. Each elder lad, as he came to manhood, started off with a few comrades to seek new fortunes. Moreover, it was Orchan who had proved his ability and gladdened his father's heart by the capture of Brusa; so the dying Emir named Orchan as his successor.

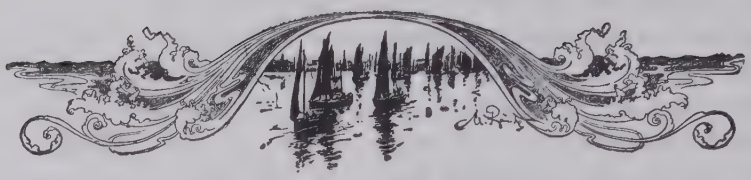
Emir Orchan offered his disinherited brother whatever he desired, even to the half of his domains, but Aladdin refused to destroy by division the power which their father had built up. He would accept only the revenues of a single village. "If you will take nothing from me," said Orchan, "then you must be my Vizier;" which means bearer of burdens. To this Aladdin consented and became the real administrator and director of the affairs of the kingdom.

To him the Turks attribute almost all their characteristic institutions. He gave them a code of laws, and established a feudal system not unlike that of Europe. He created a standing army, antedating by over a century the earliest known among the nations of the West. Schools were instituted and mosques erected, as were palaces and other public edifices of magnificent architecture. In short, if we regard the ancestors of the Osmanli as having been barbarians when they first entered Asia Minor, their progress in civilization was rapid almost beyond parallel.

Of all Aladdin's institutions, the best-known to the West was the band of soldiers called the Janizaries. The idea was suggested to him by a warrior relative; the name Janizaries, which means "new troops," was given the first recruits by a holy dervish who blessed them; but Aladdin's was the brain and Orchan's the hand that brought them into being. The purpose of their creation was partly, at least, religious. When the Turks conquered a people opposed to the faith of Mahomet, they did not compel conversion by massacre, but sought to induce it by milder means. One of their methods was to exact from the subjected territory a yearly tribute of the fairest and strongest boys who were not Mahometans. In this manner, a thousand such lads were gathered every year and separated from home and all the softer influences of life. They were brought up as Mahometans, trained in warfare and, if deemed worthy, became members of the band of "new troops," the chief instrument of Turkish warfare, the central band on whose final, desperate charge, like that of the four hundred and forty-four warriors of Ertoghrul, the rulers relied for victory.

The weapons thus prepared by Aladdin were wielded by Orchan. Within a year of his father's death, he had captured Nicomedia, the second of the three Greek cities which had defied his father. Three years later (1330) he put an end to the dominion of the Greeks in Asia Minor, by compelling the surrender of Nicæa, the last and greatest of their strongholds, inferior only to Constantinople itself in size and splendor. The Turkish kingdom of Karasi, with its capital at the ancient Greek city of Pergamos, was also conquered (1336). This established the authority of Orchan over all north-western Asia Minor, and gave him a kingdom nearly as large as modern Italy. He became the nearest neighbor and indeed the real master of the ancient and decrepit Roman Empire of the East. This still lingered as a Greek kingdom with its capital at Constantinople and its feeble authority extending over most of what to-day is European Turkey. The cities of Asia Minor had acknowledged a vague allegiance to this Empire, and in seizing them, Orchan began its dismemberment. Throughout the latter part of his reign, he was the practical dictator of its policy. Crusaders from the West gathered to aid this outpost of Christianity against the Turks. But Orchan was repeatedly appealed to by the rivals who fought for its throne, and in viewing the intrigues of father fighting against son, he gained such an introduction into European statecraft as could hardly have roused in him much admiration or even respect for the civilization of the West.

Nearly a quarter of a century was devoted by Orchan to establishing himself in Asia Minor, while his warriors became ever more clamorous for a new advance. Several times bands of them crossed from Asia and raided the provinces beyond Constantinople, but these expeditions aimed only at plunder and were not intended to establish a permanent dominion. In 1356, came what was really the next great



OSMAN'S GREATEST TRIUMPH

(Osman Hears of the Conquest of Brusa by His Son Orchan)

From a painting by the German artist, G. Bauernfiend

MOST notable of all the conquests of Osman was that of the great Greek city of Brusa, which lay on the coast of Asia Minor, facing Europe and thus leading onward to conquest in that direction. Brusa surrendered to Orchan, the son of Osman, after a siege of eight years. Its final capture was achieved only in the very year of Osman's death (1327); and he at once moved thither in person and made Brusa his capital. He was buried there, and it remained for a century and a half the capital of his people, the Osmanli or followers of Osman, as they continue to be called even to-day.

Within three years after Osman's death his son and successor, Orchan, achieved the conquest of Nicea the last of the independent Grecian cities of Asia Minor. When news of this victory reached Brusa, the Turks held a special and solemn thanksgiving to God and Mahomet; for now at last they held complete control of all the East. Their advance had not been startlingly rapid but it had been steady and most sure. Orchan had as his Vizier his brother Aladdin, celebrated throughout the East for his wisdom and generosity. Aladdin remained at Brusa binding fast what his warlike brother conquered. The shrewd Vizier made friends of the defeated peoples, restored their prosperity, promulgated just laws which protected them in peace. Thus they found themselves as happy under Turkish rule as they had been before, and far more secure in their good fortune. They became devoted adherents of the Osmanli.

X-5

forward step of the Osmanli, their first acquisition of European territory. Solyman, the son of Orchan, was in command of his father's troops along the Hellespont. As he stood gazing across its waters, he had, according to legend, one of those visions characteristic of and so useful to his race. A crescent moon rose before him, linking the two continents with its light; he heard voices summoning him to advance and saw palace after palace rising out of nothing, for his possession.

A band of forty warriors with young Solyman at their head rowed secretly across the Hellespont by night and stormed the European fortress of Tzympe, capturing it by surprise. The Greek Emperor remonstrated, but Solyman refused to give up his prize. A large ransom was offered him, and peaceful negotiations were in progress, when suddenly, unexpectedly, a terrific earthquake swept over all the region, breaking and battering the walls of many cities. The opportunity seemed too providential to be lost. The Turks cried out that God himself had interfered to deliver the country into their hands. The troops of Solyman advanced from Tzympe and seized Gallipoli, the chief city and seaport of the Hellespont, marching in over the ruins of its walls without resistance from the terror-stricken inhabitants. Other towns were captured in similar manner, and though the Greek Emperor protested, he dared do no more.

Solyman died, and his body, like that of Osman, was buried near the scene of his last conquest. Soon afterward, Emir Orchan closed a long life full of honors and fame. He was succeeded on the throne by his eldest surviving son, Amurath or Murad I (1359–1389).

Murad, the last of the Osmanli rulers to be satisfied with the simple title of Emir, was a worthy representative of his able, energetic race. He had first to defend himself against a revolt incited by the Emir of Caramania, chief rival of the Osmanli for dominion over Asia Minor. Despite the intrigues of the enemy, Murad suppressed the rebellion with a vigor and rapidity which thoroughly convinced his subjects of his right to rule. Then he returned to the Hellespont, and following in the footsteps of his brother Solyman continued the advance of the Osmanli into Europe.

His reign was practically one long war against the West, and to him were due most of those Turkish acquisitions in Europe which have lasted to this day. The great city of Adrianople was wrested from the Greek Empire in 1360, and Murad settled his court there permanently, made the place one of his capitals, and the seat from which he pushed on to further conquests. The degenerate Greeks opposed him with no effective force, and retained in their power only the massive-walled capital, Constantinople, with its immediate surroundings.

The invaders found a much more vigorous foe when they approached the Balkan States, the little principalities which we have seen revived in our own generation, after their national life had been extinct for over four hundred years. In the

fourteenth century Servia was a powerful state, an empire in the estimation of its rulers, one of whom had assumed the grandiloquent title "Emperor of the Roumelians, the Macedonian Christ-loving Czar." Bosnia and Bulgaria were also strong kingdoms of the Sclavic race, while beyond, and aiding them, lay Poland and Hungary, at that time two of the chief powers of Europe.

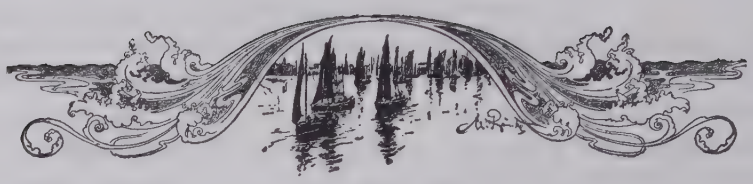
A league of all these states was formed to expel from the continent the invading Osmanli. The Christian forces took the field and advanced almost to Adrianople. In the pride of their numbers and prowess, they neglected all precautions; and, as they lay one night by the Marizza River engaged in a drunken carouse, they were suddenly set upon by the Turks and completely overthrown (1363).

The battle of the Marizza was the first of the long series in which for five centuries the Eastern invaders have held their ground against all the efforts of the West. The Turkish historians rise to poetry in celebration of the triumph. Says one of them: "The enemy were caught even as wild beasts in their lair. They were driven before us as flames are driven before the wind, till plunging into the Marizza they perished in its waters." By 1376, both Servia and Bulgaria had become tributary states to Murad, and the great Emir set himself to the peaceful task of consolidating the kingdom which he had more than doubled in size.

Once only in later life was he compelled to encounter rebellion, and that was not from his subjects but from his younger son Saoudji. The tale is strikingly Turkish. Saoudji was in command of all his country's forces in Europe. He thought himself neglected by his father, and joining an equally discontented son of the Greek Emperor, ordered the Turkish troops to follow him in revolt. The wrathful Murad hurried back from Asia. He accused the Greek Emperor of being the instigator of their two sons; and the trembling Emperor, to prove he had no part in it, agreed with Murad that if the youths were captured, they should both have their eyes put out. Marching onward from this interview, the Sultan encamped his troops in front of his son's forces, and himself spurred forward alone in the night. Riding up to the rebels he called out to them to return to their allegiance. At the sound of the well-known voice, the Turkish warriors rushed around their Sultan in multitudes, beseeching pardon since they had been bound in loyalty to follow the command of his son.

Thus the rebellion was over, but Murad seized Saoudji, blinded him according to his pledge and then beheaded him. The Greek nobles who were with the rebel, were drowned in batches, the Sultan showing a grim pleasure in their sufferings. He bound the Greek prince in chains and sent him to the Emperor, informing the latter of the punishment already inflicted on Saoudji. The feeble Emperor blinded his own son also, but unwillingly and so imperfectly that the youth was left with some slight power of vision. Murad took no further notice of the matter.

Equally important with Murad's European conquests, at least to Turkish



THE NORSEMEN AID CONSTANTINOPLE

(The Norse Sea-Wanderers Save Constantinople From the Threatening Turks)

From a painting in 1888 by Don José Moreno Carbonero

THE fall of Nicea alarmed all Europe. The fact became startlingly evident that Mahometanism had indeed received a new lease of life, that Christianity was once more threatened, that the East was rising again to pour forth its hordes and seek to overwhelm the West. Moreover, the danger was all the greater because these new leaders, the Osmanli, were merciful and allowed subject races to keep their own religion. Thus the conquest advanced in the subtle guise of increased prosperity.

Constantinople was at this time the Christian capital of the East. In its palaces ruled the so-called Roman Emperors of the East, direct successors of the ancient Romans, the only sovereigns whose land had never through all the Dark Ages succumbed to the barbarians who overran Rome. Constantinople, which had held a vague suzerainty over the great Greek cities of Asia Minor, now found the last of these wrested from her, and her own security threatened in its turn. She raised a cry to all Europe for help. No united nation answered to her call, but individual adventurers came in numbers. Some were religious enthusiasts, but more were seekers after worldly fortune. Most important of these defenders were the Norsemen. Quite a little army of these stalwart fighters voyaged to Constantinople, where they were received, as our picture shows, with more suspicion than gratitude. The courtly Greeks of Constantinople looked on them as rude and dangerous barbarians.

X-6

eyes, was his victory over the Emir of Caramania, the hereditary rival of his house. Caramania was the land of south-eastern Asia Minor where a Turkish power similar to that of the Osmanli had grown up from the ruins of older empires. The two rival states had swallowed one by one the lesser principalities between them and finally stood face to face disputing the supremacy of the entire region. The decisive struggle broke out in 1387, and Murad completely overthrew the enemy in a great battle at Iconium. It was here that Bajazet, Murad's son and successor, gained the title of Ilderim, "the lightning," through the speed and fury of his attacks upon the foe.

Scarcely were the Caramanians overcome, when the aged monarch found himself confronted by another danger. A second league of the Christian states was formed against him with Servia at their head. This kingdom and Bulgaria had been apparently his submissive vassals, until in 1388 their troops suddenly assailed and almost annihilated a Turkish army which was advancing into the unsubdued province of Bosnia. Murad hurried from Asia for revenge. His troops crossed the Balkans into Bulgaria, desolated the land with grim fury, conquered and annexed it. The Turkish frontier was advanced to the Danube. Then Murad himself led his forces against Servia. The enormous army which was gathered against him from many Christian states, greatly outnumbered his, but the aged conqueror did not hesitate to attack the foe on the plain of Kossova (1389). A brilliant Turkish victory followed, due once more, we are told, to the dash and daring of Bajazet Ilderim.

While the contest was raging, Murad was stabbed by a Servian assassin, who penetrated to his tent under pretense of being a deserter with important news. The Emir lived long enough to be assured of his last great victory and to order the execution of his rebel vassal, the Servian King, who was brought before him a prisoner. Then he died, and Bajazet Ilderim succeeded to the throne.

In Bajazet I (1389–1402) we find a ruler of wholly different type from the earlier Osmanli. Four generations of the house of Ertoghrul had shown themselves fierce and strong, but also wise and just and even generous, caring for the reality of power rather than its outward trappings. Bajazet seemed to inherit only the ferocity of his race. He was vain and ostentatious, false and foolish, an evil-minded voluptuary, who brought to ruin almost all that his ancestors had labored to accomplish. Perhaps we ought not to accept these statements too freely. The Turkish writers, with their love of allegory and poetic justice, always insist that vice must be punished and virtue rewarded. As Bajazet fell, it follows therefore in the estimation of his people that he must have been wicked; and the tales of his folly and perfidy have perchance been pictured with too dark a hue.

Yet the record seems plain to read. The new Emir's first act on the very field of battle, was to seize his only surviving brother and cause him to be put to death.

Remembering that Orchan, a younger brother, had superseded an elder, Bajazet meant to allow no rival near the throne, which he had already resolved to hold by force if not by justice.

Fickle fortune seemed to welcome him as a favorite and showered upon his undeserving head all the conquests for which his father had laboriously prepared the way. Servia, crushed by the defeat of Kossova, became a vassal state, its king remaining the most valued and the most faithful of the allies of Bajazet. Wallachia also became tributary to the Turks without much resistance; and thus their expanding territory for the first time crossed the Danube. In 1392, Sigismund, King of Hungary, afterward the Emperor Sigismund, attacked them, but was driven back in utter rout.

Bajazet was next obliged to return to Asia to re-establish his dominion over Caramania, whose emirs were recovering from their defeat at the hands of Murad. They do not seem, however, to have been able to offer Bajazet any considerable opposition, and he annexed their entire land as a permanent part of his empire. He then marched his victorious armies to the eastward, and extended his power over the last remaining fragments of Asia Minor.

Having thus made sure of his domains, Bajazet sank into a state of indolence and evil pleasure. The tales of his debauchery and licentiousness are too hideous to repeat. His pride, however, led him to do one noteworthy thing. The simple title of Emir seemed to him insufficient for his glory. He applied to the Caliph in Egypt, the religious head of the Mahometan world, and was by him authorized to assume the illustrious title of Sultan, or lord of lords.

In 1396, Sultan Bajazet was compelled to return to Europe to meet the most formidable effort yet put forth by the West to resist the advance of the Turks. In the Hungarians, the invaders had at last encountered Roman Christians, instead of the Greeks who looked to Constantinople as their Church's centre. Upon the appeal of the defeated King Sigismund of Hungary, the Roman Pope preached a crusade against the heathen foe. An army, perhaps twelve thousand strong, composed not of peasants but of the proudest knights of France and Germany, took up the holy war. So splendid was their array that they boasted that if the sky should fall they would uphold it on the points of their lances. They planned to defeat Bajazet, then take possession of Constantinople, then conquer Asia Minor, march on to Syria, seize Jerusalem, and re-establish a Christian kingdom there.

King Sigismund received this aid with joy, and marshalling his own forces, joined the advance of the Crusaders. The King of Servia refused to desert Bajazet and join them, so this Christian state was laid waste by the followers of the Cross. Its warriors were slain without quarter and its cities stormed.

The Sultan made haste to gather the most powerful army his dominions could supply, and met the enemy before the city of Nicopolis. The Crusaders had

SOLYMAN ATTACKS EUROPE

(Urged by a Vision the Turks Cross the Hellespont Into Europe)

From a painting by the Polish artist, A. Bastworowsky

NOT until the Turkish kingdom had been established for over half a century and had gradually welded firm its power in Asia, did its leaders attempt the conquest of Europe. In the year 1356 Solyman, a son of King Orchan and the commander of his armies, determined that despite all the Christians who had come to aid the Empire of Constantinople, his soldiers were strong enough to begin the attack. While marching an army along the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, the narrow strait which separates Europe and Asia, Solyman had a vision in which the crescent moon of the Osmanli seemed to reach across the Hellespont and bridge the strait with its light, beckoning him on to immeasurable riches.

So Solyman with forty picked men from among his followers rowed secretly across the strait at night and stormed an unsuspecting Christian fortress. His army joined him; and before they could be expelled or even attacked a natural disaster came, as though in fulfilment of Solyman's vision, to make his conquest secure. A mighty earthquake shook all this eastern coast of Europe, toppling down the walls of its cities. Solyman at once marched against those nearest him and entering over the fallen walls, took possession of one strong place after another almost without resistance from the dazed and despairing inhabitants. Thus quite a province in Europe, almost as much as they still hold to-day was won by the Turks at a single grasp, though Constantinople still defied them.

X-7

boasted that this notorious voluptuary would never dare encounter them; they had refused to believe the news of his approach. When at last his troops suddenly faced them, the Crusaders were eager to attack at once. Sigismund, who knew to his cost the Turkish style of battle, explained to his impetuous allies that they were confronting only the lighter troops, whose attack meant nothing. He entreated them not to exhaust themselves until the Janizaries should appear. But the Crusaders, especially the French knights, refused to be advised; they would not condescend to alter their form of battle to please the Turks, but insisted on charging the foe at once and bearing down all who opposed them. Their light-armed opponents scattered, but there were always other troops beyond. The Frenchmen were led on and on until at length, when they were exhausted and their wearied horses were stumbling at every step, the last curtain of light horsemen was drawn away, and they saw before them the long, stern ranks of the steel-clad Janizaries. Slowly the grim foe closed about them in a circle, and the Frenchmen were slain or captured almost to a man.

Following them, hoping yet to save the fortunes of the day, came the Hungarians and the remnant of the Crusaders. Both sides fought valiantly; but the Servian troops under Bajazet, furious at the cruel devastation of their land, made a charge that swept all before it. The Janizaries advanced to join them, and soon the Hungarians and their allies were fleeing in utter rout. King Sigismund escaped almost alone from the disastrous battlefield of Nicopolis (1396).

The slaughter was immense. Christian historians say that sixty thousand Turks were slain. The next day Bajazet, vowing to be avenged for the loss of so many subjects, caused almost all his prisoners, at least ten thousand in number, to be massacred in his presence. A few of the richest Crusaders were spared for ransom, and when these were released, the Sultan sent back by them the scornful message that he would always be pleased to have the Franks come and try their strength against him.

The Turks did not pursue their advantage far. After ravaging a portion of the enemy's domains, Bajazet fell back. Perhaps his losses had really been too great to bear, though his own historians explain that he was seized with illness. He sent his troops into Greece instead, and all that ancient land was added to the Ottoman Empire. Then in 1400, Bajazet dispatched to the Emperor of Constantinople a haughty notice that the divinely appointed conquerors would wait no longer, that Constantinople must be surrendered to them, or they would slay every soul within its walls. The Emperor bravely responded that he knew his weakness, but would defend his capital, and only Heaven could decide the issue.

Heaven had already decided. This last easy triumph was to be denied the savage Bajazet. Already his doom was at hand. The great Tartar conqueror,

Timur the Lame, or Tamburlane, had established his empire in Central Asia. His forces swept westward and clashed with those of the Osmanli. A son of Bajazet defended against the invaders the city of Sebastia on the eastern borders of Asia Minor. Sebastia was captured and all its defenders slain with torture. The Sultan vowed to avenge his son. Timur's hordes had surged southward into Syria, but would soon return. Bajazet had two years in which to gather all his forces; then Turk and Tartar met on the plain of Angora to contest the sovereignty of the East (1402).

Vague and marvellous legends have reached us of this tremendous battle. The Turkish historians seem to assign to Bajazet a hundred thousand troops and to Timur eight hundred thousand. Yet, despite this enormous discrepancy, they represent their own chieftain as acting with the blind self-confidence of a madman or a fool. To show his contempt of his adversary, he withdrew his troops from before the foe and employed them in a gigantic hunt, miles upon miles of mountain land being encircled by the army and the game driven forward to be killed by the Sultan and his court. So exhaustive was the labor, so barren the region, that thousands of the warriors perished of thirst; and when at last the senseless tyrant would have permitted his victims to return to the streams of the plain, they found the vantage ground occupied by their watchful foe and they could reach the water only by fighting for it. They struggled heroically but in vain, and the gallant army perished almost to a man, through exhaustion rather than the blows of their enemies.

Of these legends we may believe what we choose. It is certain that the Turks were utterly defeated; Bajazet was captured, and Timur marched in triumphant procession over the Asiatic territories of his foe. The tale has passed into literature of his carrying the fallen Sultan around in an iron cage and forcing him to drag his conqueror's chariot. But in truth the captive seems to have been borne about in a comfortable litter, to which bars were only added after he had attempted to escape. Timur's treatment was apparently as kindly as was consistent with holding a rival prisoner. Bajazet soon died; and Timur did not long survive him. The Tartar chief had conquered all Asia, but his successors did not know how to hold together his vast domains, and at his death the Asiatic world fell into chaos.

THE RAVAGING OF SERVIA

(Murad Makes the Turks a Terror to All Europe)

From a painting by the French artist, O. D. V. Guillonet

SO long as Orchan and his son Solyman confined their slow and cautious advance to the devouring of the possessions of the feeble Roman Empire of the East, Europe felt no serious anxiety. But both Orchan and his son died soon after the first advance into Europe and another great conqueror, Murad I, succeeded to the throne. Murad at once turned all his forces against Europe. In 1560 he stormed Adrianople and let loose all the hordes of his Asiatic followers against the other Balkan States. Chief of these at the time was Servia, whose king called himself Czar of the old Romans. Bulgaria and Bosnia were also strong Christian kingdoms, constantly fighting against Servian aggression. These foes were all most cruelly ravaged by the Turkish hordes.

The three Christian States united, drew to their aid the forces of their next neighbors, Hungary and Poland, and in a vast confederated army pursued the Turks. The latter, loaded with all the plunder of Servia and Bulgaria, retreated as far as the Marizza River close to Adrianople. Here occurred the first great battle in the long series in which the Turks clashed against the strength of Europe. The Christians were surprised by a sudden night assault and were completely overthrown. Murad at once advanced again over their stricken lands and was able within the next ten years to establish his empire firmly over all the land that had been Bulgarian and Servian, that is, over most of the Balkan Peninsula.

MAHOMET THE CONQUEROR AT BELGRADE

Chapter III

THE RECOVERY OF THE EMPIRE AND THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY MAHOMET II

[*Authorities:* As before, also Mommsen, "History of the Roman Empire"; Von Ranke, "History of Servia"; Pears, "The Fall of Constantinople"; Vambery, "The Story of Hungary"; Besant, "Constantinople and its Sieges."]

IT is curious to reflect that after the deaths of Timur and Bajazet, the empire of the victor perished, while that of the vanquished survived. This was because of the manner in which the latter power had been established, so thoroughly, so wisely, that all the tyranny and folly of Bajazet had not been able to destroy the esteem in which his family was held. Sultan-Œni and its surrounding territory, with some part even of the more recently acquired domains of Murad and Bajazet, remained faithful to the Osmanli. Yet their empire had to endure an even severer shock than that delivered by Timur. Bajazet's eldest son, Solyman, was ruling the European portion of the Sultan's domains at the time of the battle of Angora. Three younger sons escaped from that fatal field, and the four brothers plunged at once into civil war, each claiming a portion of their father's domains.

Mahomet, the youngest of the four, had inherited the high character and abilities of the earlier generations of his house; the others seemed to possess little beyond their father's savagery. Gradually Mahomet gained possession of all the Asiatic region and established himself at Brusa, the capital of the empire. He even allied himself with the Greeks against his brother; and his troops garrisoned Constantinople. Asiatic Turks fought European Turks in defense of this ancient capital of Christianity.

At last the virtues of Mahomet and the vices of his brothers caused the followers of the latter to desert them even on the field of battle, and, by 1413, Mahomet had reunited under his single sceptre all that was left of the shorn and desolated empire. In Europe he then sought peace rather than reconquest. His friendly alliance with the Greek Emperor was continued, although the Greeks had regained many of their cities formerly captured by the Turks. The Sultan held at Adrianople a general conference with all the little lords who had seized a city or a province on his European borders and made themselves independent. He promised to leave them unharmed in their possessions. "Peace," he said to them, "I grant to all, peace I accept from all. May the God of peace be against the breakers of that peace."

The shrewd Sultan thus gained opportunity to devote all his attention to his Asiatic dominions, which were in even more precarious condition. The Emir of Caramania had been re-established as an independent ruler by Timur. By degrees he had regained much of the former power of his race, and burning with inextinguishable hatred, was once more ravishing the lands of the Osmanli. His forces even besieged Brusa, their capital. Mahomet hurried to its rescue, and after a long campaign was victorious over his hereditary foe. The Emir was brought before him a captive. With his usual mild policy, Mahomet only demanded an oath of submission, which the Emir gave by placing his hand within the robe upon his breast and saying, "So long as there is breath within this body, I swear never to attack or covet the possessions of the Sultan."

Even as the captive left the presence of his conqueror, he began giving orders to his captains to renew the struggle. They reminded him of his oath, but he grimly drew from the concealment of his bosom a dead bird, and told them that it was only while breath remained in that body that he had sworn to submit. So the war began again. Once more the Sultan broke the dwindling power of his foe, and once more he pardoned him.

Mahomet, in his early days of strife, had been called by his followers the "champion," because of his strength and skill with weapons; but in later years he became a builder of palaces and mosques to replace those that had been ruined in the years of anarchy; he became a lover of the arts, and his added name was Tschelebi, which means the noble-minded or the gentleman. It was Mahomet the gentleman who thus forgave his foes, yet restored his domains to peace and security. He is remembered by his countrymen as the second founder of their empire, its rescuer after the period of devastation.

It is strange that this lover of life's purer side should have been forced constantly to engage in war. The Dervishes of his own faith raised a revolt against him, the only religious strife which for centuries directed the fanaticism of the Turks against other than external foes. This was suppressed only after several bloody

ON THE FIELD OF NICOPOLIS

(Destruction of the First Great Crusading Army Against the Turks)

From a drawing by the French master, Gustave Doré

WHEN Murad had grown very old, he faced and defeated a wide rebellion of his Servian and Bulgarian subjects. This was supported by the mighty Sigismund, King of Hungary and afterward Emperor of Germany. Murad defeated the combined forces of Hungary and his former vassals, but perished in the moment of victory. His death gave the Hungarians breathing time. At Sigismund's entreaty a Holy War was preached against the Turks, and a powerful Crusading army gathered from all Europe came to Hungary's aid. So mighty was this army that its members laughed at the idea that from all Asia any force could be gathered to stand against them for an instant. The Crusaders boasted that if the sky should fall they were numerous enough to uphold it on the points of their lances.

This mighty host was met by Murad's son and successor, Bajazet, on the stricken field of Nicopolis. The Crusaders charged furiously; the wily Turks led them on in true Oriental warfare, evaded them, pretended to flee, exhausting and scattering the heedless Christians, then turned on them suddenly in grim destruction. All over the field little knots of Christians fought and fell, slaughtered to the last man. Only King Sigismund and a mere handful of his Hungarians escaped. This was in the year 1396, and thus the Osmanli less than a century after starting their career as a nation had met and broken the chief strength of Europe.

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battles. A pretender claiming to be a son of Bajazet caused another civil war, was defeated and escaped to Constantinople, where he was imprisoned. There was a quarrel with the Venetians, and the Sultan built against them the first of those Turkish fleets which afterward became the terror of the Mediterranean. There was also fighting along the Hungarian frontier. Fortunately for the Turks, Hungary had been so crushed by the great defeat at Nicopolis that she remained quiet through all the Turkish period of weakness. But her people finding themselves unassailed, now began to recover courage and to renew the strife.

Mahomet died of apoplexy in 1421, and his death was concealed for forty days to enable his eldest son and acknowledged successor, Murad, to return to Brusa from the eastern frontier where he was learning the art of war. Murad II (1421–1451) was a youth of only eighteen when he was thus unexpectedly called to assume the difficult position and responsibilities of his father. Once again, however, the Osmanli had found a chief worthy of their fame.

The Greek Emperor, presuming on the new Sultan's youth and hoping to renew the civil wars which had proved so destructive to his dangerous neighbors, released his prisoner, the pretended son of Bajazet. The expected strife did follow, but it was soon terminated. Murad displayed a skill both in statecraft and in battle which completely overmatched his opponent, who was defeated and slain.

The youthful Sultan vowed to end forever the perfidy of the Greeks by capturing Constantinople. In 1422, he besieged the massive walls of the metropolis, advancing against them with good generalship and reaching the point where a preliminary assault was begun. Both Greek and Turkish accounts tell us that this was repelled by the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary at the most threatened spot. The assault certainly failed, and Murad was soon compelled to withdraw his forces to meet another danger.

This was an Asiatic rebellion headed by his younger brother and supported by all the power of the Emir of Caramania. It was suppressed and its leader slain. Murad himself remained for a long time in personal government over the people of Caramania; and from that time onward they became the devoted followers of his house. We hear no more of their persistent and formidable revolts.

Along the Hungarian border the Turkish troops were engaged in an endless though not serious warfare, and after many years of patience had fully established Murad's power in Asia, he resolved to crush forever this petty contest in Europe. He was destined, however, in the new strife to meet at last his equals if not his superiors in the art of war, the two ablest champions brought by the West against the East;—Hunyadi, the hero of Hungary, and Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania.

The decisive war began in 1442 when the forces of Murad were repulsed from Belgrade, the chief fortress on the Hungarian border. At the same time, Hunyadi leaped into fame by defeating with great slaughter a Turkish army which had

invested the town of Hermanstadt in Transylvania. We have spoken of the savagery of Bajazet, who slew his Christian prisoners after Nicopolis; but there is certainly little to choose between the methods of either side. After the battle of Hermanstadt, Hunyadi caused the Turkish general and his son to be chopped into little pieces; then, at a banquet of victory, he entertained his guests by having Turkish captives led in one by one and slaughtered in various interesting ways.

Hunyadi followed his success by an even greater victory at Vasag. Encouraged by this turning of the tide, the Roman Pope preached another crusade, and volunteers from all Europe joined Hunyadi's force. The next year, 1443, he led a strong army into Turkish territory. He won the battle of Nissa, drove the Turks out of Bulgaria, and fought his way across the Balkan Mountains in most remarkable manner, opening to the ravages of his army the thoroughly Turkish district around Adrianople. That year, however, he advanced no farther; his great force broke up, and its members scattered to their homes.

Murad had not personally encountered this terrible foe; but having found his ablest generals defeated, he had no wish to put his life and throne on the hazard of so desperate a contest. He proposed a peace with the King of Hungary, yielding the latter large advantages and surrendering all his claims to suzerainty over Servia and Wallachia. These liberal terms were accepted and a truce was made which both parties swore should not be broken for at least ten years (1444).

Having thus after many trials established peace through all his domains, Sultan Murad performed an act rare in the annals of any land, rarest in the East. He resigned his throne. His eldest and best-loved son having just died, the second, Mahomet, a boy of fourteen, was declared Sultan and girded with the sacred sword of Osman. Murad retired, not to a monastery of austerity like his later and more celebrated imitator, the German Emperor Charles V, but to a retreat made attractive by every pleasure that could appeal to the cultured intellect.

He was not, however, allowed to remain in his seclusion. The truce with Hunyadi had roused vigorous protest from the Roman Catholic Church. A crusade had been preached, it had achieved splendid victories, yet its object was not accomplished. The Turks must be driven wholly out of Europe. Their appeal for peace proved their weakness; the successes of Hunyadi attested the irresistible might of the Christian arms. No faith was to be kept with infidels; despite the oaths of ten years' peace, the war must be renewed at once. Hunyadi opposed this. Having freed his own land and those nearest it, he had no desire for further war; but he was overborne. Without warning, waiting only till the promised fortresses of Servia and Wallachia had been handed over to them, the Christians invaded the Turkish lands.

Their advance was as successful as it was unexpected. All down the Danube Hunyadi marched his forces, seizing the fortresses and cities by the way. He then

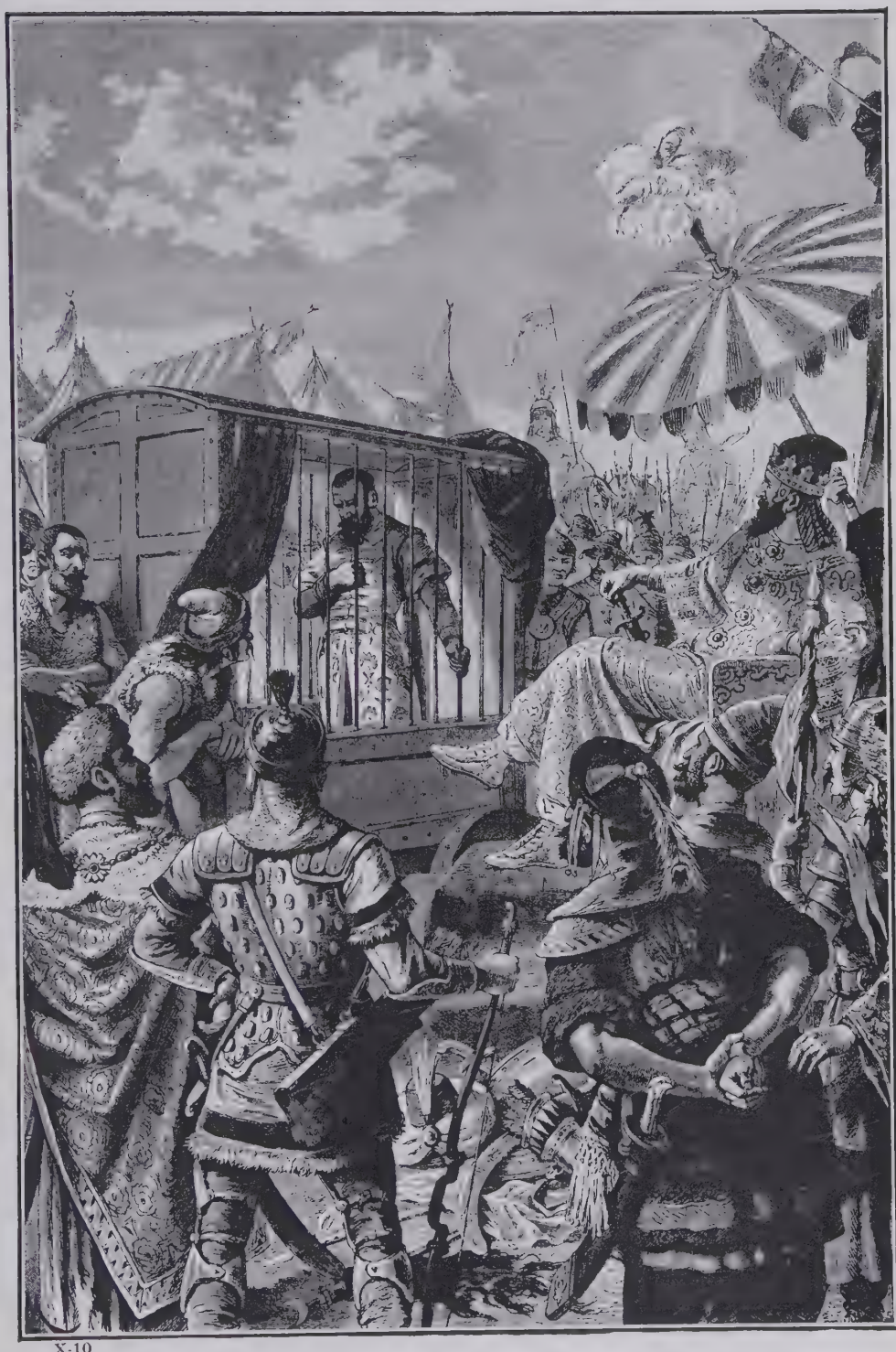
THE DOWNFALL OF BAJAZET

(Timur, the Tartar Conqueror, Holds the Sultan Captive in a Cage)

From a painting by the German artist, H. Merté

"PRIDE goeth before a fall." Bajazet, having crushed the Christians at Nicopolis and enforced his rule over the whole of Asia Minor, felt himself the chief ruler of all the Mahometan peoples, so he sent to the religious head of Mahometanism, the Caliph of Cairo, and asked and received the high title of "Sultan." His predecessors among the Osmanli conquerors had been content to call themselves "Emir" or prince.

Sultan Bajazet was to test the extremes of human fortune. Scarce had he received his gorgeous title when he lost everything. Out of the wilds of Central Asia there came another conqueror, Timur the Lame or Tamburlaine. Timur led a great horde of Tartars, wild rovers of much the same stock as the Turks themselves had been originally. The hordes of Timur devastated all Central Asia, then they spread over Syria and Palestine and laid waste those lands. They were thus encroaching on the eastern end of the Turkish Empire, and Bajazet gathered all his forces and met them on the plain of Angora (1402) to decide the sovereignty of the East. Bajazet was completely defeated and was made prisoner. Timur carried his royal captive about with him in a wheeled cage, as our picture shows. Legend adds that the victor compelled the unhappy Bajazet to perform every sort of menial service to him and to his men, but of this there seems little evidence. The captive's fate was surely sad enough without, for he remained a caged prisoner until his death.



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moved southward along the Black Sea, penetrating as far as the important port of Varna, which he captured.

The storm which Sultan Murad had thus far avoided, he could not leave to burst upon his son. Instantly upon news of Hunyadi's advance, his resolution was taken. Leaving his retirement, he hastily gathered his best troops and hurried to repel the invader. Crossing the Balkan Mountains in unexpected fashion, he advanced against Hunyadi from the rear, and for the first time these two able generals met at Varna. The encounter that followed is known to the Turks as the Battle of the Violated Treaty, for the Sultan, hoisting a copy of that document upon a lance, bade his soldiers follow it as a standard. Hunyadi on his side, having grown confident through success, drew up his forces on the plain outside the city and charged without waiting for the attack of the foe. Both wings of the Turkish army were driven back, and we are told that for a moment Murad contemplated flight. But in the centre, the Janizaries held firm. The Hungarian king who attacked them was slain and his head raised upon a lance, as fitting companion to the treaty to which he had sworn. Bearing these two grim standards the Janizaries advanced, and the Christians fled before them. Even Hunyadi, though he performed prodigies of valor, could not stay the tide. He himself escaped, but his army was annihilated (1444).

The battle of Varna broke forever the power of the Balkan States which had joined Hunyadi. Not only Servia and Wallachia but Bosnia also became tributary Turkish states. Having established garrisons there as a bulwark against Western Europe, Murad for the second time abdicated in favor of his son and withdrew to his philosophical retreat. He is the only sovereign in history who has ever twice resigned his power.

The peace and pleasure for which he longed were still denied him. The boy Mahomet was not yet strong enough to control the wild Turkish warriors. The fierce Janizaries in particular were little likely to obey a child. They engaged in open plunder and murder and laughed at all efforts to restrain them. The councillors whom Murad had left around his son, hurried to their former master and besought him to return again from his seclusion, for only he could prevent the establishment of a military tyranny, a despotism subject to these "new troops" once slaves of the empire.

Then Murad, feeling that he was indeed the servant of his subjects, abandoned his dream of rest. He came forth from his beloved retreat and dispatched young Mahomet thither to study and obey, until he should be capable of leading and commanding. The turbulent troops welcomed with delight the return of their trusted master. The ringleaders of sedition were executed, the remainder pardoned, and Murad began again the task of keeping order both at home and on his frontiers.

The chief enemy of his remaining years was the Albanian hero, Kara George, or Black George, frequently spoken of as Scanderbeg, a corrupted form of "Lord Alexander," a name given him in youth by Murad himself in admiration of the lad's fiery valor, which the Sultan said was like that of the great conqueror, Alexander. George was the son of an Albanian chieftain and was sent to Murad's court as hostage for his father. He was brought up a Mahometan and became a chief favorite of the Sultan, then one of his most valued and trusted lieutenants, commanding in several Asiatic campaigns.

In secret, however, the courted and admired "Kara George" had never forgotten the home of his childhood. On his father's death he hoped to be established in the family lordship, and as the Sultan failed to send him home he planned a bold revolt. Seizing for its execution the moment of Hunyadi's great victories of 1443, he went to the chief secretary of the empire and forced him with a dagger at his throat to write out an order to the governor in Albania, directing that all the fortresses should be placed in the hands of the bearer. Then, slaying the unhappy secretary lest the secret be betrayed, George hurried to Albania and without difficulty secured command of almost the entire region. He threw off the pretence of having come in the Sultan's name, and declared the land independent and its ancient religion re-established. The wild Albanian mountaineers eagerly joined this son of their former leader. The peaceful Turkish inhabitants of the land were massacred; their remaining armies were defeated and put to flight.

Murad by abdicating had thought to leave to his son rather than himself the struggle against his well-beloved page and favorite, Scanderbeg. But even on his second return to his throne, he found the task still unbegun. So taking this trial also upon himself, he invaded Albania with a mighty army. One fortress after another was recaptured. The Sultan, however, found his progress so slow and so costly in the lives of his followers, that he resorted to his old tactics and sought peace, offering to make Scanderbeg his viceroy over Albania. The Albanians steadily refused all terms of accommodation, and the Turks were finally compelled to fight their way out of the land through the mountain passes, even as they had forced a passage in.

This was in 1448, and the Sultan's departure was made necessary by the return of his other foe, Hunyadi, who had recovered from the defeat of Varna and was again leading an army out of Hungary, attacking the Turks in Servia, their border dependency. A second time did Murad defeat his greatest enemy, this time in the terrific three-day battle of Kossova. It was his final triumph; he died in 1451, and was by his own command buried, not in a grand mausoleum, but in a simple, open grave, "nothing differing," says Knowles, the picturesque English historian of the time, "from that of the common Turks,—that the mercy and blessing

MAHOMET I REGAINS EMPIRE

(The Turks Ally Themselves With the Christians, and March Forth From Constantinople to Re-conquer Their Empire)

From a drawing by Gustave Doré

TWO things saved the Osmanli empire from extinction when Sultan Bajazet was overthrown by the Tartars. The first was the devotion which the justice of the Osmanli rulers had won from their people. The sons of Bajazet were able to draw around them what remained of the scattered forces of the empire. The other cause was the weakness of their foes. The Tartars of Timur were soon left as a headless mass by the death of their great leader. The Christians had been so completely overthrown at Nicopolis that for a whole generation they were unable to renew their warlike efforts.

Thus left free to restore their empire, the four sons of Bajazet added to the general confusion by plunging into a civil war among themselves. From this bitter domestic strife the ablest of the four finally emerged as victor, and became Sultan as Mahomet I. He was the first Turk to make an equal alliance with the Christians. In warring against his brothers, he joined forces with the Emperor of Constantinople. Thus his troops were admitted to Constantinople to aid in protecting it against the other Turks; and it was from the gallery of a Constantinople palace that Mahomet addressed his troops ere leading them forth to the decisive battle in which he defeated the last of his brothers and so reunited the Osmanli empire. Mahomet made large concessions of territory to his Christian neighbors and so secured peace to consolidate his rule.

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of God might come unto him by the shining of the sun and moon and the falling of the rain and dew of Heaven upon his grave."

Mahomet II (1451–1481), called the Conqueror, was that son of Murad who had been twice removed by his father from the throne because of his inability to control the empire. By 1451, however, the young man had learned at least the blacker part of his hard lesson. On receiving the news of his father's death, he cried out, "Who loves me, follows me," and leaping on a horse rode without pause until he reached the capital. There he was immediately proclaimed Sultan; and his first act was to order the death of his infant brother, justifying the crime by the example of Bajazet, and by pointing to all the civil wars which had been caused by the weakness of his own father and grandfather in not following this firm course. In the latter part of his reign, Mahomet actually proclaimed this slaughter of all the brothers of a new sovereign as the law of the Empire. It became the established policy of his successors.

The first warlike movement of Mahomet's reign was against Constantinople. Its last Emperor, Constantine, judging the man by the incapacity of the boy seven years before, sent a demand for an increase in an annual sum paid him for keeping in confinement a claimant to the Turkish throne. Mahomet responded encouragingly until he had taken full possession of his inheritance and felt secure of his subjects' allegiance. Then he began building a huge fortress which still towers above the shores of the Bosphorus, close to Constantinople. The Emperor Constantine, himself a youth but little older than Mahomet, remonstrated against this threatening demonstration, whereupon the Sultan, with fury suddenly released, answered that the Osmanli had borne too long the insolence of a dependent, and that he meant now to chastise Constantinople once for all and to take rightful possession of this arrogant metropolis which obtruded itself like a foreign island in the midst of his domains.

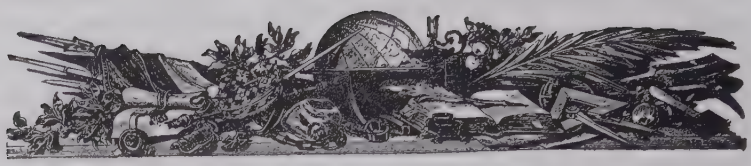
Early in 1453, the Moslems gathered round the doomed city, the capital of a thousand years, whose mighty walls had resisted the siege of so many armies of Asiatic invaders. Constantine sought help from Western Europe, but secured only a few hundred troops, while the effort cost him the allegiance of the mass of his own people, who declared him a heretic. Some of them vowed they would sooner see the Mussulmans in possession of their homes than open them to the hated Roman Christians. Thus it was upon a city hopelessly divided against itself that Mahomet made his attack. He conducted it with great skill, casting enormous cannon with which to batter down the walls, sapping the defenses with mines, and creating a fleet to prevent the provisioning of the besieged by sea. His people were as yet untrained in naval warfare, and once a relieving fleet fought its way past his vessels, though Mahomet in fury forced his horse into the very waves and passionately urged on his defeated sailors. At length, however, the blockade

was complete, and the defenses were so battered, the loyal defenders so decimated and exhausted, that a general assault was made.

Constantine and his troop resisted this heroically but without avail, and the last of the Cæsars perished with the downfall of his empire. The city was sacked. For a time the Moslems slew all they met, then they began seizing as slaves all the fairer women and stronger men. Thousands of the fanatical Greek Christians gathered in the great church of St. Sophia, believing that a miracle would save them from the foe. None occurred, and most of the foolish and factious inhabitants who had refused to join in the defense of their city, thus met the fate they had invited, almost deserved.

Finally Mahomet checked the slaughter. This grandest metropolis of the world was henceforth to be his capital; he did not want it wholly without people. The remnant of the miserable Greeks were therefore promised mercy. They were even permitted to continue their religion, and Mahomet conferred office on a new Patriarch or head of the Greek Christian Church, assuring him that he should be unhampered in his religious authority. But the splendid palaces, the gorgeous churches, were all taken possession of by the Mahometans. The Osmanli might at last feel themselves fittingly housed in a capital worthy of their fame. They were masters of a broad and undisputed empire, united around its natural centre, the ancient city most celebrated in all the world for culture and magnificence.

Janizaries Seizing Christian Children



MURAD REPULSED FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

(The Turks Rage Helplessly Against the Mighty Ships of the Christians)

From a drawing by Gustave Doré

THE successor of Mahomet I was his son, Murad II, one of the most remarkable of all the great Osmanli rulers. Ascending the throne as a lad of eighteen, he had first to face treachery and civil war from various claimants to his throne. These were all encouraged and aided by the Emperor of Constantinople, who thought thus to weaken the power of these dangerous Turks with whom he had allied himself. Enraged at the Emperor's treachery, Murad as soon as he had triumphed over the last of his rivals, turned all his energies to an attack on Constantinople.

Up to this time the power of the Turks had lain wholly in their armies; they were a land power, possessing no navy whatever. But to win Constantinople, the great seaport of the East, ships were absolutely necessary. Murad conducted his land siege with skill and vigor; but the ships of the Christians who came to aid Constantinople, broke easily through his sea defenses. The fiery Turk saw his people slain in vain, and himself defied and ridiculed. He prepared a great land assault; but this also failed, and he was compelled to abandon the hopeless siege.

Except for this failure Murad's reign was most successful. He restored the empire of the Turks to the full extent it had attained before Timur's invasion; he met the great Hungarian leader Hunyadi and defeated him and a huge Crusading army at Varna, thus once more crushing the renewed strength of the Christians.

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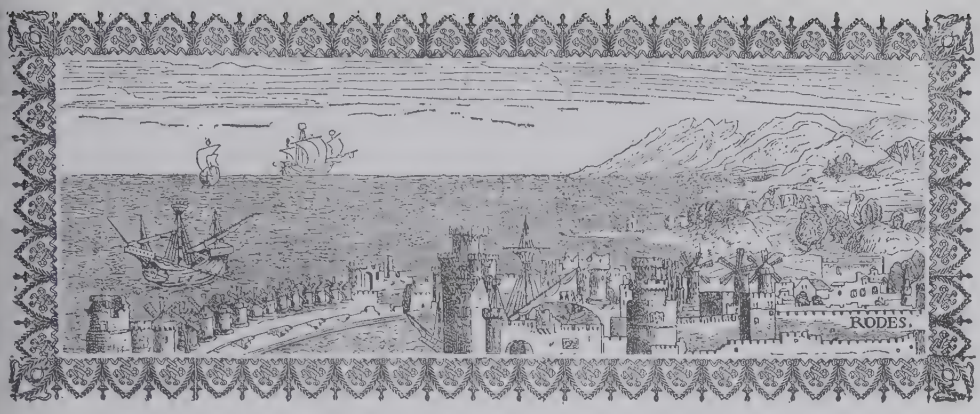

First Siege of Rhodes (*From an Ancient Manuscript*).

Chapter IV

RELIGIOUS SUPREMACY ESTABLISHED UNDER SELIM THE DESTROYER

[*Authorities:* As before, also Muir, "The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt"; Lane-Poole, "History of Egypt in the Middle Ages"; Samuelson, "Bulgaria Past and Present."]

MAHOMET II, through his capture of Constantinople, is perhaps better remembered by Europeans than is any other of the Turkish monarchs. Hence the typical idea of his race is taken from him, one of its most unfavorable specimens. The career of the Osmanli had dawned with glorious promise. Their noonday splendor only furnishes us with another instance of a nation admirable in the rude strength and virtue of its youth, but sinking into degeneracy under the enervating influences of wealth and victory.

Much of what is most evil in the Turkish empire, much that has led to its decay, was inaugurated by Mahomet. He was undoubtedly an able man, shrewd and strong, but as false as he was cruel, and self-indulgent, and enamoured of every vice. In the murder of his infant brother, he had chosen for his model, not Orchan and Aladdin, the brethren of the generous strife, but Bajazet, the monster, and like Bajazet he found a hideous pleasure in licentiousness, in the ruin and destruction of innocent young lads and maidens.

Having mastered Constantinople, Mahomet in the pride of youth, strove to earn and justify still further his title of the Conqueror. He easily gained possession

of the remaining fragments of the Greek Empire, the cities of Sinope and Trebizond in the far East, and the Peloponessus and the islands of the Ægean in the West. The unhappy Greeks fled from their homes in multitudes, often without waiting the approach of the enemy and without any idea whither to turn for shelter. They perished by thousands of starvation and exposure. Mahomet then gave play to his craft and subtlety against Servia and Bosnia, never as yet wholly submissive in their dependency.

We are told that when Hunyadi negotiated with these states, he was asked what terms he would give them if they aided him against the Turks. He answered frankly that he would compel them to abandon every doctrine of Greek Christianity and conform to the Roman Church. The despairing people then asked the same question of the Sultan, who, less bigoted and less honest, assured them of full protection in their own religion. This may not be true, but it is certain that the Bosnian king and his sons came to Mahomet under a sworn promise of safety and he used against them the very doctrine that Hunyadi had adopted against Murad. No pledge, he declared, was binding toward unbelievers. He slew his guests.

The next year (1456) the Conqueror advanced against Hungary. Belgrade, the famous frontier fortress, was besieged, and Mahomet boasted that he would take it as easily as he had Constantinople. Another religious crusade was preached against him, and Hunyadi with a band of desperate adherents forced an entrance into the beleaguered town. Then heading a sally against the Turks, the great Hungarian chieftain won his last and most important victory. Mahomet saw his troops put to flight by a fanaticism beyond their own. In his fury he struck down his closest adherents and wielded his sword almost alone against the advancing foe. He was wounded and carried from the field, still raging and resisting in the arms of his devoted followers. Twenty-five thousand Turks perished, and not for many years did the Osmanli venture any further advance against Hungary.

Never again do we hear of Mahomet the Conqueror appearing in person on the field of battle, nor did he for nearly two decades attempt any military movement of importance. He developed, however, a strong and intelligent interest in civil matters and in art, establishing a widespread system of law and life among his people. Religious doctrine he placed under the charge of a special order of learned men called *mufti*. The whole system of government was made so elaborate and minute that it had much to do with checking the progress of the Turkish race. It took away the necessity and also the incentive to initiate new methods of action, it destroyed the power of invention, and the "march of civilization" ceased. The Turks remain to-day almost exactly where Mahomet II left them.

In middle age the Conqueror turned again to military glory, but sought it

SCANDERBEG ROUSES ALBANIA

(He Demands the Surrender of the Turkish Garrisons)

From a painting by the Russian artist, Paul Ivanowitch

THE little country of Albania which the Powers of Europe have just restored to independence in our own day, had also its romance of resistance to the Turks. The chief hero of this resistance, the name most celebrated in Albanian annals, was Scanderbeg or Alexander Bey. Albania had been conquered by the first wave of the Turkish advance, but her people had been allowed to retain their Christian faith and local institutions; and now in the period of Hunyadi's assault upon the enfeebled Turks the Albanians attempted to regain their independence.

Scanderbeg was the son of an Albanian chief and was brought up in the court of Murad II as a hostage for his people. He became a favorite page of Murad and seemed the Sultan's most devoted friend, but at heart he was yearning for the independence of his people. Taking advantage of the confusion into which Hunyadi's great crusading army plunged Murad's court, Scanderbeg secured a forged order appointing him ruler of Albania, and with this he fled to his native land. Here, by his pretended authority, he gained control of the chief fortresses. Where his commands were opposed he enforced them by surprise or sudden violence. His countrymen rallied eagerly to his call, and soon every Turk in Albania had been slain or put to flight. Scanderbeg then defeated one force after another which the Turks sent against him. Even Sultan Murad had to retreat from the Albanian mountains without a victory.

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along an easier path. Hunyadi was long dead, but Murad's other great antagonist, Scanderbeg, still reigned over Albania. The strife between him and the Turks had never wholly ceased, and gradually they wore his followers down by numbers, took his fortresses one by one, and compelled him to flee from Albania, which became a Turkish province. When, a little later, Turkish invaders came upon his grave in a Venetian city, they broke open the tomb and devoured the hero's heart, hoping thus to become as brave as he.

Herzegovina also yielded to the Turkish advance. Mahomet then, in 1475, quarrelled with Genoa, which was still a powerful maritime republic, owning most of the northern shore of the Black Sea, what is now southern Russia. The people there were "khazak" or cossacks, wanderers, Turkish nomads such as the followers of Ertoghrul had been. They were at enmity with the Genoese and eagerly aided an army sent by Mahomet to attack Kaffa, the chief seaport of the Crimea, a Genoese colony so opulent as to be known as "the lesser Constantinople." Kaffa and all the Crimea fell easy victims to the Turkish arms.

Finding there was little real strength in these Italian city republics, Mahomet quarrelled with Venice, and his troops plundered her territories along the Adriatic, venturing almost to the site of the venerable city of the doges itself. In 1480, the last year but one of his life, his generals attacked Italy from its southern end and captured the famous stronghold of Otranto.

Only one repulse checked the Ottoman arms during this period. The same year that Otranto was won, Mahomet sent a formidable fleet and army against the island of Rhodes, which was held by the Knights of St. John and formed the last bulwark of Christian power in the East, the last remnant of the conquests of the Crusaders. Both the attack and the defense of the citadel of Rhodes were conducted with noteworthy skill, but the final Turkish assault failed just when it promised to be successful. The reason assigned by the Turks for the repulse is that at the very moment when their troops reached the summit of the ramparts, their general issued a command that there must be no plunder, that all the spoils were reserved for the Sultan himself. Indignant and disgusted, the bulk of the Turks abandoned their advance; their comrades on the ramparts were left unsupported and were hurled back. The siege failed and Rhodes for the time escaped.

Mahomet died rather suddenly the next year, in the midst of the preparation of a vast armament whose destination no one else knew. Treacherous himself, he was always suspecting others and concealed his purposes from even his closest councillors. Consequently the great expedition stood still, and the Grand Vizier tried to keep secret the death of his master while he dispatched hurried news of the event to the Sultan's sons, Bajazet and Djem. These two were each in command of a distant province, and as the Vizier was specially devoted to Djem, the younger, he arranged that the word should reach his favorite first. Djem had

many partisans in Constantinople; he was known to be as energetic as Bajazet was quiet; and since, under their father's law, one of them was likely to die, Djem might prefer being Sultan himself.

The Vizier's scheme failed because the Janizaries suspected the Sultan's death. Mahomet had increased both the number and the power of these famous troops. Their turbulence had grown greater in proportion, and now, finding that the master-hand was indeed removed, they broke out into open rioting. They slew the Vizier who would have deceived them, and began, as at Mahomet's first accession, to plunder their more peaceful and milder fellow citizens. In the general tumult, the messenger to Djem was slain. So Bajazet got the news first after all, and came post-haste to Constantinople where the Janizaries declared in his favor, being still angry with the Vizier who they knew befriended Djem. The troops even condescended to entreat the new Sultan's pardon for their outbreak, though at the same time they demanded from him a large sum of money to pay them for their adherence.

Bajazet II (1481–1512) was at the time thirty-five years old; he might in childhood have seen the members of this same troop crowding in passionate devotion round his grandfather, Murad; but those old days of obedience had passed away under Mahomet. Bajazet, perforce, submitted to the insolence of his servants and paid the money they exacted. Thereafter this became the custom, and the Janizaries insisted on a donation from each future Sultan.

Djem, however, was not yet disposed of. His whole career reads like a romance and has been much enlarged on and embroidered by the poets of the East. He was himself a poet of no mean order, and his works are still cherished by his countrymen. He was, moreover, if not one of the ablest members of his race, at least a warrior and statesman of no mean merit. He may well have felt that he was fighting for his life, Mahomet's specious legalizing of murder being well fitted to produce death and discord, but never peace. So Djem maintained the mastery of his own province and raised civil war against his brother. The ablest generals of his father were dispatched against him by Bajazet; and these with all their forces found the conquest of the rebel no easy task. When driven from his province, he sought aid from the Sultan of Egypt and renewed the struggle. Crushed a second time, he turned to the Knights of Rhodes, but they while promising him alliance and assistance made him prisoner. He was hurried from one European court to another. Bajazet paid an enormous price for his detention, and each of the Western monarchs, under pretense of aiding the fugitive, sought to secure his person and thus receive a portion of the spoils. The Pope urged him to turn Christian, promising in that case a real support; but Prince Djem * haugh-

*As illustrating the impossibility of translating Turkish words into English spelling, it may be mentioned that the name of this unfortunate prince has been written by good authorities in such varied forms as Djem, Zizim, Jen, Jem, and Jimschid.

DOWNFALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(The Turks Slaughter the Helpless Christians in the Great Church of St. Sophia)

From a painting by the German artist, E. Hillemacher

MURAD was succeeded by his son Mahomet II, called the Conqueror. Mahomet II at last achieved what the Turks had so long desired, the conquest of Constantinople. Gradually their advance into Europe had engulfed all the territories of the Roman Empire of the East, and had left Constantinople standing as a single island of Christianity amid the Mahometan possessions. Now Mohamet made a solemn vow that no other task should distract him from the conquest of this mighty city. He gathered all his forces, he built blockades across the waterfront to bar the Christian fleets of rescue; and he constructed huge cannon, the largest the world had yet seen, wherewith to batter down the enormous walls. Thus equipped the Turks began the final siege of Constantinople. The metropolis received but little aid from western Europe, so its walls were at length battered down, and in a furious assault the Turks swarmed over the ruins and slew all they met.

Thousands of the Christians gathered in the great church of St. Sophia, hoping that a miracle there would check the Turkish advance. It did not; and the church became the center of the massacre. At length Mahomet himself checked the slaughter, declaring that Constantinople was henceforth to be the capital of his empire, and he did not want it left wholly without inhabitants. This was in 1453 and the city has ever since remained what Mahomet made it, the Turkish capital.

tily refused and dragged out in foreign lands a weary exile of thirteen years. At last, he fell into the hands of the worst of all the Popes, Alexander Borgia, and was by him poisoned, Bajazet having promised for his brother's death a reward even larger than for his restraint.

Despite this evil bargain, Sultan Bajazet II was not at all a bloody or cruel-minded man. He only purchased his brother's murder when the necessity of it was forced upon him. He was not even a soldier, disliked war and devoted himself mainly to religion. He was called by his people "Sofi," which means the mystic or the dreamer. Yet he was not without worldly wisdom. "Empire," he sent word to Djem, "is a bride whose favors cannot be shared." He built up a navy which made him respected and feared by European powers, and which for the first time gained victories for the Turks at sea.

On land, his armies were unfortunate. The success of Turkish soldiers depended always on their enthusiasm, on the fanatic courage roused by the presence of their Sultan. The "dreamer" failed to aid them with this inspiration. Hence no foreign conquests were achieved in his reign; and he failed to win the admiration of his warlike people. He even abandoned Otranto, the foothold which his father had secured in Italy. Such wars as Bajazet was compelled to undertake were in the East. He attacked the Persians, who from his time appear in the place of the former Emirs of Caramania as the hereditary Asiatic rivals of the Osmanli. He was also forced to fight against Egypt, then under the sway of the famous Mamelukes, a band of noted warriors who had broken the power of the French in the last crusade of King Louis IX. The powerful Mameluke Sultans repeatedly defeated the forces of the Turks, and acquired some portions of the Osmanli territory to the southward.

The old age of Bajazet the Dreamer was moreover long embittered by strife with his fierce son Selim, afterward Sultan Selim, the Destroyer. He was neither the eldest nor the best-loved of Bajazet's sons, but he early distinguished himself in war and became the favorite of the soldiers, who despised the peaceful Bajazet. The latter, as we have seen, never possessed any real control over his people, such as made the earlier members of his house so powerful and so beloved. Selim even dared to raise frequent rebellions against his father. Once Bajazet was forced to lead against him such portion of the army as remained loyal, and Selim was decisively defeated. His intrigues, however, never ceased, and at length the Janizaries insisted that he should be called to the capital in preference to his brothers. Selim came with an army, and the turbulent troops, gathering round the palace, shouted to the Sultan to come forth.

"What will you?" demanded the aged ruler as he calmly faced them.

"Our monarch," they answered, "is too old and too sickly, and we will that Selim should be Sultan."

"So be it," said Bajazet philosophically, "I abdicate in his favor. God grant him a prosperous reign." Then the deposed Sultan left the city in a litter, Selim walking respectfully by his side. Yet Bajazet must have taken the matter more deeply to heart than he admitted, for within three days he was dead.

With the dethronement of a Sultan by the Janizaries, we enter a new phase of Turkish history. The servants have grown as powerful as their master; the unquestioning devotion to the ancient line of Osman has disappeared. Hereafter it is always a disputed point as to which shall rule, the Sultan or the Janizaries, whichever is stronger and more subtle holding temporary control.

Selim the Destroyer (1512–1520) was eminently fitted to cope with the corps which had raised him into power. If they were fierce, he was fiercer. They slew with little hesitation, he with none at all. They were passionate for war, he devoted his life to it. Once more the Turks became a nation of warriors on the march. In his brief reign of eight years, Selim doubled the size of the Ottoman Empire.

He trusted no one. Among his followers the executioner was ever at work, until the common curse with his people grew to be, "May you be made Grand Vizier to Sultan Selim." The average term of life of these Viziers is said to have exceeded scarcely a single month.

"Will your highness grant me a few days to arrange my affairs?" queried one of them, venturing a jest in the moment of his greatest prosperity. "You are sure to order my execution some day or other."

Selim laughed with grim appreciation. "You are right," he said; "in fact I have been intending to order it for some days, but have not found any one fitted to take your place."

Yet this ferocious man was in his way deeply religious, a fanatic in his devotion to his faith. He found no enjoyment in voluptuous ease, and when not engaged in war devoted himself to hunting. All his pleasures were of the sterner sort. Nevertheless, he was an admirer of literature. A "royal historiographer" accompanied his campaigns, and other men of letters were given high posts in his service. Selim even displayed in himself something of the genius which glowed in so many of his race, and composed poetry of no mean order.

A ruler of such varied ability could not fail to make his impress upon the world. Bajazet had left several sons and grandsons; Selim promptly slew the seven who were within reach. Then he attacked the others, until all had been defeated and killed in civil war. On Selim's first entrance into Constantinople as the acknowledged sovereign, the Janizaries planned to form a double line and cross their swords above his head as he passed between. This, while it would show their loyalty, would also be a hint to the Sultan of the power which had made and could unmake him. Sooner than submit to their yoke, Selim avoided them entirely, passing

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through the city by another route. To pacify the turbulent warriors he sent them an immense present or "donation" which well-nigh emptied his treasury. Afterward, one by one, he executed all whom he suspected of being leaders in the movement. Once when his religious teachers ventured to remonstrate against his endless slaughters, he put them gravely by. "My people," he said, "can only be controlled by sternness."

The Mahometan world, then as now, was divided into two religious sects, the Sunnites and Shiites. The Osmanli were Sunnites, but the other sect had begun to spread from its stronghold in Persia and to take root in their dominions. Selim arranged a vast and subtle system of police spies who enveloped his empire as in a net, and made record of every Shiite. They found seventy thousand of the heretics; and on a single day, without warning, these were all made prisoners. Forty thousand were slain, while the remaining thousands met the even crueller fate of being immured for life in the fanatic's dungeons. Thus did the holy Sultan purge his domains of heretics at a single stroke. It was a massacre of St. Bartholomew, only of earlier date and more successful issue than that which later stirred Christianity to its depths. The Turkish orthodox writers hailed the slaughter with enthusiasm. Its perpetrator is styled "the devout," "the just," "the humane."

The "humane" Sultan was planning a still more comprehensive effort of religious zeal. The Shah of the Persian Empire, who was a Shiite, had sheltered one of his rebellious brothers. Selim sent the Shah a long, eloquent letter pointing out the wickedness of all Shiites and of the Shah in particular, and explaining to the latter that he was a reprobate needing chastisement, a tyrant who abused his people, a criminal who slew them without justice. All these atrocities, declared the mild and clement Selim, he meant to put an end to; and he invaded Persia with an army of nearly two hundred thousand troops, perfectly organized and equipped.

The management of the Turkish armies of this period, the preparations for their supplies, their nourishment, and the care taken for their health, demand admiration even in our own day, and were centuries in advance of the commissariat arrangements of European troops. Selim's invasion of Persia would have been impossible to any other monarch of his time. It was difficult even for him. His army crossed deserts, and marched hundreds of miles without serious loss. The Persians wisely fell back before them, devastating the land on their approach, until the Janizaries complained loudly of their hardships. Selim turned on them with furious scorn, and taunted them with having become children, who only clamored for war when it was at a distance. Some of the murmurers he slew with his own hand; then he offered to let each soldier go home who found himself unable to endure what their Sultan was suffering with them. Not one accepted the contemptuous proposal,

Meanwhile, Selim was sending one taunting message after another to the Shah, until the latter's rage overmastered his generalship. On the plain of Calderan he attacked the Turks with an army almost equal to their own, but unprovided with the artillery which had become the chief weapon of the Osmanli. The Shah was defeated and fled, wounded, leaving Tabriz, his northern capital, to the plunder of the enemy (1514).

An extensive portion of Persia was thus added to the Turkish Empire; but Selim, yielding to the protests of his soldiers, ventured no farther through the deserts to complete the conquest of the East. He turned southward instead. The Mahometan world had long been divided among the rulers of Turkey, Persia and Egypt. One of the Turks' rivals having been overcome, they attacked the other, —Egypt, the land of the Mamelukes, a band of famous slave soldiers like the Janizaries, only that the Mamelukes—bolder than the Janizaries—had long since overthrown their master and established in Egypt a government and Sultan of their own.

Bajazet the Dreamer had quarrelled with them and been defeated. Hence they despised the Osmanli. When Selim's forces invaded Syria, they met him with little preparation; they were disputing among themselves and considered their internal strife far more important than any menace from the invaders. Through the power of artillery, the Turks gained an easy victory near Aleppo (1516), and all Syria with its celebrated holy cities, Jerusalem, Antioch, Damascus, passed into their possession.

No longer underestimating the foe, the Mamelukes retreated into Egypt. They awoke to the vast difference between Janizaries taking orders from a dreamer in his capital, and the same troops headed by Selim in the field. The Egyptians placed their mightiest warrior on the throne; they had still the desert for defense, and prepared to guard its passage, to hurl troops fresh and strong against the exhausted warriors who would come staggering out of its burning wastes. But the thorough preparations of Selim thwarted them. He gathered thousands and thousands of camels to carry water and make the journey easy for his men. Not only soldiers but cannon were successfully transported across the sands. The Mamelukes were defeated at Gaza, and again in a last desperate stand at Ridania, near Cairo their capital. So furiously did they charge in this last battle, that Selim was himself in danger. The warrior Sultan of Egypt pierced to the very centre of the Turkish army, where mistaking the gorgeously apparelled Grand Vizier for the Sultan, he slew the lesser man, wheeled horse and escaped. The Turkish artillery, however, once more decided the fortune of the day. Twenty-five thousand Mamelukes fell, and the Osmanli became lords of Egypt (1517).

His new empire brought to Selim authority over Arabia also, and the guardianship of Mecca and Medina, the holy cities of his faith. More attractive still to

THE ROMANCE OF PRINCE DJEM

(Djem's Secret Flight to the Christians)

From a painting by the Hungarian artist, Prof. Franz Zverina

THE successor to the throne of Mahomet II, the Conqueror, was Bajazet II, the Dreamer. Bajazet II was the first of the fierce Osmanli who made no effort to extend his territories. He indeed flatly refused to plunge into war unless forced to it. During his reign the chief center of romantic interest lay less with him than with his younger brother, Djem or Jimschid.

The frequent family wars among the descendants of Osman as to which of them should win the throne had resulted at length in the establishment of a law that the Sultan on coming to the throne should slay all probable rivals. Now Mahomet the Conqueror died suddenly, and his Vizier being a friend of the Sultan's younger son Djem, concealed his master's death while he sent word of it to Djem, hoping that the younger brother might thus seize first upon the throne instead of being slain by Bajazet. This plot led to a civil war. Djem was defeated, fled to Egypt, and there gained a second following. Again defeated, he fled alone and secretly to Europe. There, single handed, aided only by his powerful personality and fluent eloquence, he gained many supporters, and for thirteen years strove to raise an army to renew his warfare with Bajazet. He was finally poisoned by Pope Alexander Borgia. Djem was certainly a remarkable figure, a poet and a soldier, one of the ablest men of his race and the one best known to Europeans.

the religious devotee (or was it the subtle statesman who saw the value of the change?) he became master of the nominal religious chief of all the Mussulmans, a feeble descendant of the Prophet Mahomet, who dwelt in empty state among the Egyptians. This chief "caliph" was induced or compelled to transfer his authority to Selim and his descendants, and the house of Osman, children of the wandering khazak Ertoghrul, became Caliphs as well as Sultans, religious as well as temporal heads of the greater part of the Mahometan world.

Selim himself assumed the sword, the mantle and the standard of the Prophet. Now, indeed, was he armed against heresy. Only the Shiites of Persia still opposed him and denied his authority; and there can be little doubt that had Selim lived he would have completed the conquest of the Persian Empire.

Having organized a government for Egypt, he returned to Constantinople in 1518, loaded down with spoils. He had resolved to compel the Greeks within his domain to join also in his faith, planning to slaughter the refractory ones, as he had the Shiites. "Which is better," he asked a mufti, his leading spiritual adviser, "to conquer the world, or to convert its nations to the true faith?" The mufti pronounced eagerly in favor of conversion; and the Sultan promptly ordered every Greek church to be changed into a mosque, every Christian to become a Mahometan or die. The Greek Patriarch protested, and appealed to the pledges made by the conqueror of Constantinople. He quoted passages from the Koran itself which forbade such violence as Selim's. Even the Mahometan preachers remonstrated with their new Caliph at his excess of zeal, and he reluctantly resigned the truly stupendous pleasure which he had promised himself in the slaughter or conversion of six millions of his subjects.

The restrictions upon the Christians became, however, increasingly severe, and only the sudden death of Selim in 1520 relieved them, and indeed the entire empire, of an ever-increasing burden of fear. The "Destroyer," as all men knew, was not yet glutted with bloodshed, not yet weary of forcing his own fierce way upon the world.

KHAIREDDIN'S VICTORY OFF PREVESA

Chapter V

THE SPLENDOR OF SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT

[*Authorities:* As before, also Knolles, "History of the Turks"; Clark, "Races of European Turkey"; Upham, "History of the Ottoman Empire."]

MAHOMET II had enfeebled the creative power of his people and encouraged them in idleness; he had himself led the way into paths of voluptuous vice. Now Selim drove them with whips of scorpions and taught them fear, with which comes always falsehood. Laziness and vice, cowardice and treachery! Philosophizing from a distance, one may see that the Turks were under bad teaching, that already their degeneration had begun. When the absolute ruler of a people is a hero and a sage, an Osman or a Murad, his headship is like that of a god and inspires his nation to a glorious imitation of himself. But when the despot falls ever so little below the highest rank, when he becomes mere man, his faults have far wider influence than his virtues, and his people breathe contamination. Hence the Turkish Empire, for all its seeming splendor and territorial advance, was an impossibility, a thing that could not continue to exist, whose power had only momentarily increased, because of the continued greatness and good fortune, the nobility and the wisdom of most of the members of that remarkable house of Osman.

The failure visible to us, had not, however, at the time of Sultan Selim's death become manifest to his contemporaries. On the contrary the reign of his son Solyman (1520–1566) is depicted as the acme of Turkish glory. The first half of the

SELIM UNITES THE MAHOMETAN WORLD

(The Conquering Turks Enter Cairo in Triumph as Masters of All Mahometanism)

From a painting by the Austrian artist, Konstantin Makowsky

BAJAZET THE DREAMER was ultimately deposed and possibly murdered by his own son, who succeeded him as Selim the Destroyer. Selim was not the eldest of his father's sons, but he was the most warlike. The fighting Turks grew more and more discontented with the lack of battle and plunder under Bajazet's peaceful rule and more and more eager that Selim should succeed him. At last the chief troops, the Janizaries, would wait no longer, but gathering around the royal palace in Constantinople, clamored for Bajazet to resign. He yielded perforce to their sudden outburst; resigned his authority quietly to Selim, and three days later was found dead.

Selim at once began a career of conquest. He was a sternly religious man, and had resolved that all Mahometans ought to be reunited under a single head, as they had been in Mahomet's time. He meant to be that head, and with his united Mahometans to conquer the world. Hence he conquered Persia, then Syria, and then advanced against Egypt. At this time Egypt was ruled by the celebrated body of soldiers, the Mamelukes. These were crushed by Selim's Janizaries in two tremendous battles, and he became lord of Egypt (1517). He thus accomplished his first aim; when he entered Cairo in triumph he was in control of the entire Mahometan world. The menace of the Turks against Christianity now reached its height.

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sixteenth century was in many respects one of the most remarkable periods in history. It was the age of the Reformation; Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were preaching their doctrines. The Renaissance was in fullest flower; Raphael and Michael Angelo were beautifying the churches of Italy. Columbus had discovered America, and its riches were pouring into Europe. Ferdinand and Isabella had expelled the Moors from Spain, and their grandson, the Emperor Charles V., wielded a combination of Spanish and German power the most extensive since Charlemagne. Francis, called the Great, ruled over France, as the most munificent of art patrons, most chivalric of heroes, most sumptuous of monarchs. Yet amid all this rising splendor and power of the West, the Turkish Emperor was not eclipsed. Bickering sovereigns who heaped insults upon one another, united in admitting the greatness of the infidel, the most hated among them all. From Western Europe itself, Sultan Solyman received the name of "the Magnificent." His own people knew him by a yet more lordly appellation, perhaps not undeserved. They called him Solyman the Lord of the Age.

Let us see how far the title was merited. When the young prince at the age of twenty-six ascended the throne of his fathers, he ruled over an empire territorially as large as all Western Europe combined. His capital had been for a thousand years the centre of the culture of the world. His subjects, it is estimated, were forty millions in number, at a time when England contained only four millions, and even the German Empire, most populous of European lands, boasted of but thirty million subjects. Moreover, Solyman was absolute master of his realm, not constantly thwarted and antagonized by nobles almost as powerful as he, not bound by charters and constitutions, not antagonized by a Church that claimed from his subjects a still higher allegiance. Solyman was spiritual chief of a region even wider than his temporal domains. He bowed to no law except the Koran, of which he himself was the interpreter. No nobility existed in his land, except such as he created.

In personal character also, the young monarch was a worthy example of the Osmanli at their best. Even in the reign of his grandfather, Bajazet the Dreamer, Solyman's budding youth had been distinguished by military success. Selim had found him a valuable lieutenant. Moreover, he was an only son, hence his accession to the throne was undisputed. He was not driven to trickery and intrigue during his father's reign, and sudden fratricide at its close. He came into his great inheritance with hands unsoiled by crime, with heart in the first warm flush of youth, with a reputation already high for generosity as well as valor; and his people welcomed him with a hopefulness and enthusiasm, which measured the intensity of their relief in escaping the terror of Selim.

The very opening of his reign was marked by notable military achievements. The two great bulwarks of Christianity, Belgrade on the borders of Hungary, and

the Island of Rhodes in the eastern Mediterranean, fell before his arms. From these two famous strongholds Mahomet the Conqueror had been repulsed. They had dealt him the two great defeats of his career; and for half a century the attack had not been renewed. The Dreamer had not dared attempt it. The Destroyer was himself too soon destroyed. The last effort of Selim's life had been the gathering with his customary thoroughness of a vast armament against Rhodes. While awaiting the completion of this, Solyman turned his attention to Belgrade.

The young King of Hungary had merited chastisement by putting a Turkish ambassador to a cruel and shameful death. Solyman advanced swiftly into Hungary, captured several fortresses, and by a vigorous siege made himself master of Belgrade (1521). He so strengthened its already enormous fortifications, that it remained for two centuries the chief bulwark of the Turkish Empire against Europe.

Returning next to his already formulated project against Rhodes, the Gibraltar of its day, Solyman invested the island with an overpowering force, and at the enormous sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, gradually sapped the strength of the defenders. The tremendous artillery of the Turks was employed with its usual effect. The modern science of attack, by means of trenches slowly advanced and carefully protected, here first received its full study and development. After five months of a most memorable defense, the exhausted Knights of St. John surrendered; and the only remaining fetter which had been imposed upon the East by all the toil and bloodshed of the Crusades, was broken. No foe remained anywhere within the circle of the Turkish Empire. Its outspreading bounds were unified at last (1522).

All the world recognized the valor which the defenders had displayed. The Sultan granted them honorable terms, and they were allowed to depart from Rhodes unmolested. Solyman even spoke to their Grand Master with characteristic generosity, reminding him of the varied fortunes of war, and saying that he grieved to drive from home so aged and so brave a gentleman. The Emperor Charles V conferred upon the Knights a new Mediterranean fortress to defend, the island of Malta; and to this they withdrew, making of it another memorable centre of defense against the Turks.

Having satisfied his martial ardor by these two celebrated achievements and by the suppression of revolts in the recently conquered regions of Syria and Egypt, the young Sultan betook himself to the pleasures of peace and to the improvement of the internal order of his empire. Ambassadors sought him from all the turbulent courts of Western Europe. Their letters to their homes make marvel of the splendor of his surroundings and the wisdom, justice, and generosity of his character. In 1525, Francis of France, held prisoner by the Emperor Charles, wrote to Solyman, Sultan of the infidels, entreating him to compel his release. Solyman

DEATH OF SELIM THE DESTROYER

(He Doubts the Righteousness of His Seizure of Religious Authority)

From the historical series of T. C. Jack

SELIM, the conqueror of Syria and Egypt, was a strange and remarkable figure, a great fighter but an even greater devotee to his religion, a stern and bloody fanatic who perpetrated religious massacres on a scale that no European has ever equalled. Selim found the Mahometan world divided between two religious sects. Persia had been the stronghold of the sect opposed to his own, and he made this the excuse for attacking, and so far as possible destroying the Persians. He then commanded the slaughter of all members of this sect throughout his own domains. Forty thousand of the unfortunates were slain and many more imprisoned for life. So far as force could accomplish it the sect was trampled out. Then when Selim captured Egypt, he compelled the feeble "Caliph" or religious chief of his own Mahometan sect to transfer to Selim's head the spiritual leadership. Thus Selim became, and all his successors on the Osmanli throne have since remained, both Caliph and Sultan, the rulers of both Church and State, leaders of the Mahometans in the same sense that once Mahomet himself had been.

Selim died soon after seizing on this high eminence. On his death-bed he is said to have been shaken by doubt as to the righteousness of his bold and terrible course. But he declared that his turbulent followers could only be ruled by a force even greater than their own, so that he persisted in savage severity of slaughters until he too expired.

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answered in terms well befitting the "Lord of the Age," speaking of his own court as the asylum of sovereigns, the refuge of the world; and assuring Francis that, having appealed to him, he should have justice. "Night and day," says his letter, "our horse is saddled and our sabre girt."

The continued appeals of Francis had undoubtedly considerable effect in fomenting the wars which arose between the Turkish and the German Empires. Their immediate cause, however, was less romantic and more serious. The turbulent Janizaries protested against peace and began plundering Constantinople. Solyman hurried to the scene of their rioting and, after cutting down the leaders with his own hand, executed a number whom he suspected of instigating the disorder. But to quell it wholly and by the most effective means, he marched to war.

Hungary, with which no peace had been made since the capture of Belgrade, was the victim of his attack. Its young king hastily gathered his forces, but he directed them with little judgment or skill and was slain and his army annihilated by the overwhelming numbers of the Turks on the field of Mohacs (1526). This battle, still remembered as "the destruction of Mohacs," caused the downfall of the Hungarian kingdom, which for a century and a half had held back the European advance of the Osmanli. Now it lay helpless at the feet of the victor. "May Allah be merciful to this youth," he said as he gazed at the body of the dead king, "and punish the counsellors who have misled his inexperience. I had no wish to cut him off when he had but just begun to taste the joys of life and sovereignty."

Advancing up the Danube, the Turks seized Buda, the Hungarian capital; but the purpose of the Sultan seemed rather to punish the land by devastation than to take permanent possession of it, and his army withdrew laden with plunder and burdened by a mass of one hundred thousand unhappy prisoners.

In the extremity of their despair, the Hungarians broke into civil war. One party sought the aid of Germany. To strengthen their resistance against Turkey, they gave the Hungarian throne to Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V. The other party, insisting on a native king, elected Zapolya, one of their nobles. Being defeated by Ferdinand, Zapolya appealed to the Sultan for assistance. The rival kings laid their claims before his court, where they were treated with arrogance as vassals of the Turks. "Thy master," the envoy of Zapolya was told, "is only king because we make him so. The crown does not make kings, it is the sword." The ambassador from Ferdinand, having been less submissive and having demanded the restoration of Belgrade, was assured that the Sultan would punish him even if the Turks had to march all the way to Vienna, the capital of the German Empire, to drag him from the protection on which he relied.

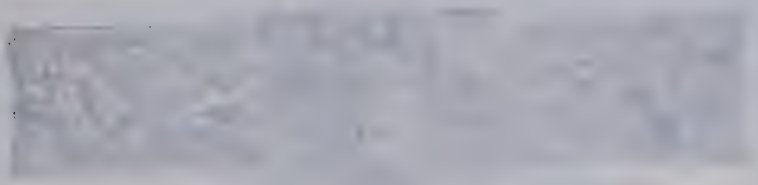
Thus was the gage of battle fairly offered to the great German Empire; and over the prostrate lands of the Greek Empire, the Balkan States and Hungary, the Turks advanced into central Europe. In the spring of 1529, Solyman, with a

quarter of a million men, began his threatened march from Constantinople. This time the elements were against him. Constant rains made the advance of his troops almost impossible, and much of his heaviest artillery had to be left behind. Not until September did he reach the Hungarian capital, which after a brief siege, surrendered. Ferdinand had fled, and Solyman, as he had promised, placed Zapolya upon the throne. Then, taking his vassal king with him, he continued his advance upon Vienna.

From that city also Ferdinand took flight, and the energies of the Emperor Charles V were absorbed elsewhere in his dominions; but fortunately for Christendom, its capital had more resolute defenders. Lacking heavy artillery, the Sultan could make no effective breach in the walls, and assault after assault was vigorously repelled. The weather grew more bleak, winter approached, and sickness spread through the camp of the warm-blooded Turks. After a single month of ineffectual siege, Solyman, recognizing that he had met the first check of his career, withdrew his troops. Vienna remained unconquered, but almost all Austria had been ravaged as had been Hungary three years before. Thousands of captives were slaughtered and other thousands carried away by the withdrawing Turks. Solyman boasted that the Christians dared not meet him in the field, and at Buda he held a great celebration of his triumph.

Three years later the Sultan invaded the Austrian territories again and laid all Styria in ashes. The little fortress of Guntz made a memorable defense against his arms, giving the Emperor Charles time to gather an imperial German army and march against him. It seemed as though a great decisive battle might again settle the fate of an entire continent. But Solyman had already weakened his forces by his long and trying campaign; he challenged Charles to lead the Imperial army against him, but did not himself march toward Vienna. The Emperor with even greater caution remained within reach of the sheltering walls of the capital, and saw his fairest provinces made desolate without an effort to protect them.

The next year, 1533, a truce was agreed upon. Solyman was too sensible to exhaust his armies by repeating such distant and profitless invasions. There was little left to plunder, no army would give him battle, and he only sacrificed his troops by thousands against the stone walls of the innumerable fortresses. Moreover, the old religious quarrel with the Persians had again broken out, so that from this time Solyman, like Selim, turned his attention mainly to the East. He fought at least six great campaigns against the Persians, broke their power, and wrested from them the fairest portion of their empire. The entire valley of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers with the great capital Baghdad, the last of the sacred places of the East, passed under the sway of the Osmanli, where it still remains. The "arch of Turkish Empire" curved from Baghdad in the east, to Belgrade and even to Buda in the west.



SOLYMAN'S AMBASSADOR SLAIN

(The Hungarians Bring the Captured Ambassador Before Their King)

From a painting by the Hungarian artist, J. Pawliszak

SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT was the son and successor of Selim. Solyman's reign marks the culmination of the Osmanli power, the "golden age" of the Turks; their zenith not only of military but of intellectual and literary success. Solyman ruled from 1520 to 1566 at the time of Europe's great religious upheaval of the Reformation, and he displayed not only more power but more magnanimity than any other European sovereign of the time. Probably he was more powerful than all of them combined.

Yet the beginning of Solyman's reign was hailed by his European neighbors as a deliverance. They had been fearful indeed of the grim might which Selim the Destroyer, having established his supremacy over the Mahometan world, seemed about to hurl against them. Solyman, they felt, was an untried youth likely to be harassed at first, like most Osmanli sovereigns, by civil war. So the young king of Hungary took heart, and when a Turkish ambassador was seized by the fierce Hungarians and brought as a bedraggled prisoner before the king, he had the unfortunate envoy slain. The Hungarians delighted in this defiance of the Turks, but Solyman exacted a fearful vengeance. He came at once in hot haste against Hungary and stormed and captured its great frontier fortress of Belgrade. He then completely crushed the Hungarian power in the battle of Mohacs. Hungary became in its turn a Turkish province.

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Fortunate indeed for Europe was the respite thus granted her from Solyman's attacks, and some of her sovereigns frankly recognized it as such. "Nothing but these Persians," writes Ferdinand's ambassador, "stand between us and ruin." And again, "This war affords us only a respite, not a deliverance."

Another important addition to Turkey's empire was acquired by her navy. Or rather the navy was presented to her as a voluntary tribute to her now recognized position as head of the Moslem world. The little Mahometan states of North Africa had long found in piracy their chief source of revenue. A Turkish sea-rover known to Europe as Barbarossa (Red-beard), and to his own people as Khaireddin, distinguished himself by establishing a piratical control over all Algiers. As the magnitude of his operations increased, he recognized his need of protection from the Christians he despoiled and, voluntarily placing himself under the protection of Solyman, became a "vassal of the Porte." His example was soon followed by other African states. Solyman, gladly accepting this addition to his empire, increased his own navy and made Khaireddin his chief admiral or Kapitan Pasha.

The Turkish sea power thus suddenly created, disputed with Venice and Genoa, with Spain and France, for the naval supremacy of the Mediterranean. Khaireddin, who had made himself master not only of Algiers but of Tunis also, was driven from the latter stronghold by a formidable fleet and army led by the German Emperor in person. In 1538 he avenged himself by a great victory over the combined fleets of the Emperor, Venice, and the Pope, off Prevesa. For a time thereafter he ravaged the Italian coast almost at will, plundering some of its fairest cities. In 1541, another elaborately planned Christian expedition attacked him in Algiers, but failed disastrously.

Encouraged by Khaireddin's example, the Turks became experts in the art of seamanship, and other admirals arose to emulate his deeds. The fleets of Solyman were, if not masters of the Mediterranean, at least far more powerful than those of any other single state. The Christians could withstand them only by uniting.

In 1539, Zapolya, the Sultan's vassal ruler over Hungary, died. Ferdinand of Austria, who had been allowed to keep a small portion of the country, at once laid claim to the whole. The widow of Zapolya appealed to Solyman to preserve the land for her infant son; and the great Sultan, postponing his Persian campaigns, hurried westward once more (1541). He drove Ferdinand and his Austrians out of the districts they had seized. As fortress after fortress surrendered it was garrisoned, not with followers of Zapolya, but with Turkish troops. Turkish officials were also installed in civic control, and thus almost the whole of Hungary sank to be a mere province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1547, a five-year truce was concluded between Solyman and the powers of Europe which lay beyond

Hungary. Not only the Emperor Charles V, but also the Pope, the Doge of Venice, and the King of France were parties to this treaty, by which most of Hungary was formally surrendered to the Turks. For the small part of the land which King Ferdinand was allowed to keep, he was to pay a heavy annual tribute to the Sultan. This treaty marks the high tide of the power of the Osmanli. It may perhaps be regarded as justifying Solyman's claim to be "Lord of the Age."

Nor was it through military successes alone that the great Sultan's reign won its renown. This was also the most noted period of Turkish literature. Solyman was its patron. A cultured admirer of the art of verse, he even dabbled in its mysteries himself, though without noteworthy success. Yet if not gifted with this special form of genius, he could recognize it in others. One of his poems addressed to the lyric poet, Abdul Baki, prophesied that future ages would name Baki, "the Immortal." He is so called to-day; and though the Sultan's prophecy doubtless helped to work out its own fulfillment, Baki is generally regarded by Turkish critics as the chief master of their language. On Solyman's death the poet whom he had so admired composed in his honor an ode accounted by the Turks the grandest pæan ever uttered in human praise.

Nine other noteworthy poets adorned this culminating age of the Turkish race, in addition to a crowd of lesser singers, at least one great historian, and one great jurist, beside numerous minor writers on these themes, on philosophy and on religion. Architecture likewise reached its fullest development, as did the decorative arts. The luxury of the court of Solyman became such as only revenues vast as his could have supported.

To see the inevitable "other side" of the picture, the sorrows of the "Magnificent" Sultan's lot, we must turn to his domestic life. He was easily susceptible to the softer emotions. For the first time in the story of the house of Osman, we find a vast and baneful influence exercised over the entire realm by a woman. She was the daughter of a Russian priest, was brought to Constantinople by Cossack raiders, and sold into the Sultan's harem. She was called Khurrem, "the laughing one," though European courts spoke of her as Roxalana. She soon gained a great influence over Solyman. He valued her wisdom as highly as her charms and took counsel with her upon every subject. She was in fact an empress.

Before Roxalana's rise, the chief aids and counsellors of the Sultan had been his eldest son Mustapha and his Grand Vizier Ilderim. Ilderim was a Greek slave boy to whom Solyman had become attached in youth, and whose marvellous rise and great ability form a favorite theme of Turkish legend. His devotion to his master secured him by degrees a power second only to that master's own. He even signed himself "Sultan Ilderim." Ferdinand of Hungary when negotiating with the Porte, addressed Ilderim as "brother." Roxalana secured Mustapha's banishment from court and Ilderim's execution (1536).

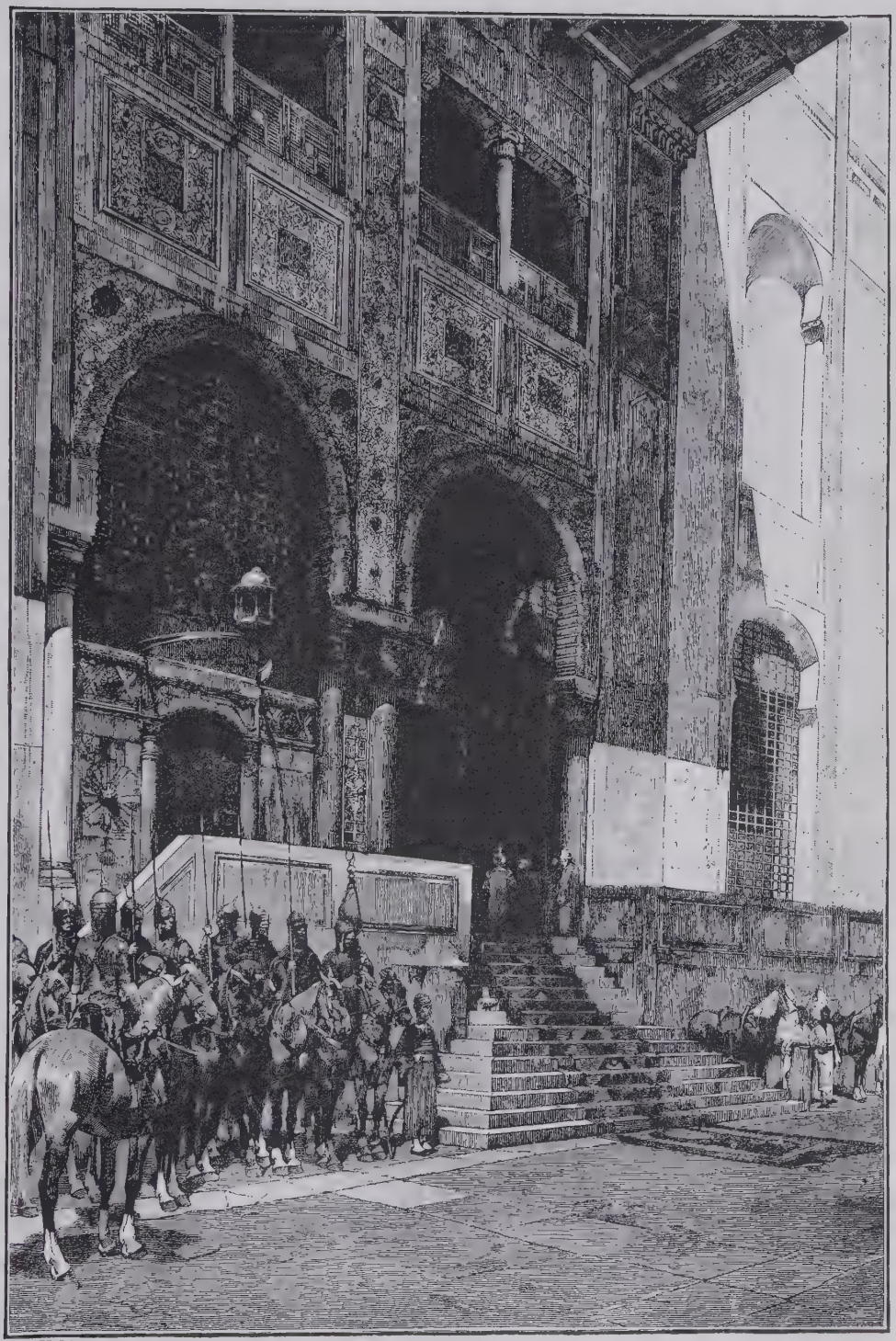
THE HUNGARIAN VASSAL KING

(Zapolya Entreats Audience With Solyman the Magnificent)

From a painting by the Italian artist, Alberto Passini

SOLYMAN did not take complete possession of Hungary after destroying its military strength at Mohacs. His first impulse was merely one of vengeance; and he ravaged the land from end to end, then returned to Constantinople loaded down with spoils and prisoners. Some of the despairing Hungarians appealed to Ferdinand of Austria, afterward Emperor of Germany, to be their king. Others elected one of their own nobles, Zapolya. Both Ferdinand and Zapolya sought to make friends with Solyman by appealing to him to uphold their claims. Zapolya even came in person and waited outside Solyman's palace until he could secure audience with the great Sultan. So Solyman declared in favor of Zapolya; and, to support his candidate against Ferdinand, marched his imperial army once more into Hungary. It became a Turkish dependency under Zapolya.

Solyman then pursued Ferdinand as far as Vienna; but finding that city too strong for assault, he withdrew. His troops ravaged Austria (1529), as before they had ravaged Hungary. So here were the Turks threatening to enter the very heart of Europe. In another advance a few years later, Solyman again ravaged Austria, and sent a defiance to the German Emperor, Charles V, challenging the Germans to meet him in the field in defense of their devastated province. But the Germans kept safely within the walls of Vienna, and the cold of winter drove Solyman home. He proclaimed himself "Lord of the Age."



She thus became unrivalled in her power, her strong nature impressing itself upon Solyman's as he grew old. When her two sons approached manhood, she resolved that they, not Mustapha, should succeed to their father's throne. For this purpose she secured the promotion of Rustem, her daughter's husband, to the office of Grand Vizier. Rustem was wholly under Roxalana's control; he was a miser, false and wholly venal, who corrupted the entire state by selling its chief offices to the highest bidders, men who naturally sought to recompense themselves by every method of extortion.

At the Sultana's urging, the Vizier systematically poisoned his master's mind against the distant Mustapha. Solyman, who had known his son well and loved him, long refused to believe the evidences laid before his eyes, but finally yielded and in 1553, probably in the father's presence, the son was executed.

The grief of the entire empire was extreme. Mustapha had been one of the worthy members of his race, devoted to the service of his father, beloved and highly honored by the people. His very virtues wrought his destruction, for it was reported that the Janizaries of their own accord were planning to substitute him for his aging father upon the throne. To the necessity of fratricide which the house of Osman already felt, the rising power of the Janizaries thus added a further horror. Fathers began to slay each able son lest he depose them as Bajazet the Dreamer had been deposed. They adopted still another method of protection, keeping their sons in ignorance and seclusion, that the young men might lack both the ability and the influence to revolt. Under such policy as this the house of Osman was doomed!

Roxalana's eldest son, Selim, was declared heir to the throne, but so incompetent and so vicious did he prove himself, that many of his troops rebelled in favor of Bajazet, his younger brother. This Bajazet, of whom we have scant records, seems to have been an able and honorable youth; but Roxalana, with a mother's partiality, clung to her first-born. Bajazet was declared a rebel, and the royal army marched against his followers. Roxalana died while the campaign was in progress. Bajazet was defeated and executed. Thus in his old age Solyman was left alone. The friend of his youth, the hero son of his early manhood, the promising child of his later years, each had been slain by his orders. The siren at whose bidding he had acted was also gone; and to his desolation there remained only a ferocious drunkard, an imbecile, the false and worthless Selim. Such are the declining days of despotism.

Military reverses also came upon the aged Sultan. The Knights of St. John whom he had expelled from Rhodes, had made of Malta another powerful citadel, where their ships reposed in safety, or rushed suddenly forth upon the Turkish fleets. If master of this island, Solyman felt that he would be master of the Mediterranean, and in 1565 he sent a tremendous armament against it. After a long

and bloody siege, the attack was repulsed, and though a second expedition was planned for the following year, it was perforce abandoned because of the renewal of the war on the German frontier.

King Ferdinand, who had become the Emperor Ferdinand, died; and his son, the Emperor Maximilian II, succeeded to his claims over the small remainder of independent Hungary. The Turkish vassal king who held the rest of Hungary, claimed the part which had been Ferdinand's, and so fell to fighting with Maximilian. Once more Solyman led an army across Hungary. He was now over seventy years of age and so feeble that he had to be borne in a litter. But he had no son that he could trust, to take his place.

Fortress after fortress in independent Hungary surrendered. The Austrians abandoned the hapless land to its fate. One of its own sons saved it at the sacrifice of himself. The count palatine Nicholas Zrinyi defended his town and fortress of Szigeth with such valor and ability that Solyman was compelled to settle down to a regular siege with his entire army. Month after month slipped by. September came, and the enfeebled Sultan one night complained with childish querulousness that he could no longer hear the beating of the huge drum of victory. Then turning his back upon a world that had grown dark to him, he died in solitude. With him departed the glory of the Turkish race.

Solyman the Magnificent

BARBAROSSA'S CAPTIVES

BARBAROSSA'S CAPTIVES

(The Noted Turkish Pirate Plays With the Agony of His Prisoners)

From a painting by the French artist, Poilleux Saintange

WHILE Solyman was thus triumphing on land, his fleets achieved equal glory on the sea. Before his time the Turks were still admittedly inferior to the Christians in seamanship. But the uplifting of Selim and Solyman to be the religious leaders of Mahometanism brought to their standards a new race, the wild corsairs of northern Africa. These men were, in truth, savage pirates. The most noted of them all was Khaireddin or, as the Christians called him, Barbarossa (Red-beard). Barbarossa established himself as master of Algiers; and having acquired much religious merit by plundering many Christian ships and enslaving and torturing their passengers, he applied to Solyman for protection against Christian vengeance. Solyman, who eagerly desired good seamen, made Barbarossa his chief admiral and supplied him with more ships and men. Barbarossa then seized upon Tunis also; but a vast Christian naval expedition attacked and captured Tunis, liberating all the captives whom Barbarossa found no time to slay before his flight.

After that Barbarossa's fleets disputed the supremacy of the Mediterranean on equal terms with all the combined powers of Spain, France and the Italian States. The Turks became almost at a bound, the strongest single naval power of the world. Solyman stood at the summit of his splendor and renown.

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THE SIEGE OF SZIGETH (*From an Ancient Manuscript*)

Chapter VI

INTERNAL DECAY AND ITS TEMPORARY ARREST UNDER MURAD IV

[*Authorities:* As before. also Stirling-Maxwell, "Don John of Austria"; Dyer, "History of Europe"; Menzies, "Turkey Old and New."]

THE death of Solyman was concealed from his troops by his devoted Vizier, Sokolli. The Vizier was well aware that the news would cause the soldiers to abandon the siege of Szigeth in discouragement; and he was determined that the fortress before which his master had perished should not remain untaken to boast of its resistance. For seven weeks the body of the dead "Lord of the Age" was borne about in a closed litter, as though the empty shell still held its former tenant. Officers approached and bowed low to it and heard Sokolli, stooping within the curtains, repeat feeble words of command.

The fortress succumbed at last, and its heroic defendants rushed forth to death in a final charge. The Countess Zrinyi, remaining behind, blew up the powder magazine at the entrance of the victors, hurling the entire fortress into air and carrying with it skyward three thousand Janizaries. Sokolli announced that the object of the campaign was accomplished, and withdrew the army in good order. Only when the homeward march was well advanced, was the demise of the great Sultan proclaimed and his outworn body permitted to have rest. His authority passed to his only surviving son, the drunken, imbecile Selim, called even by his own reverent historians, Selim the Sot.

Of no land has it been more true than of Turkey, that the fortune of the people followed that of their rulers. For three centuries the descendants of Ertoghrul had handed their kingship steadily from father to son. Ten generations of leaders, all efficient and only one or two falling below real greatness of mind or body, had established for the Osmanli an almost superhuman reverence in the hearts of their people. But with the death of Solyman, the genius of his race suddenly disappears. His successors sink to a general level of feebleness as impressive as was the grandeur of the earlier generations. One or two of the later Sultans rise, perhaps, to the ordinary stature of mankind, but as a race they grovel beneath contempt.

For this evil change we must hold Solyman responsible, Solyman and Khurrem, "the laughing one," the Sultana whose machinations destroyed all the capable sons of her royal lover and left him only Selim, the worthless child whom, with a mother's instinct of his need of her, Khurrem had made her favorite.

The character of Selim II (1566–1574) had come to be well understood by his father and all his people, but such was the absolute devotion of the nation to the house of Osman, that no one thought for a moment of disputing his succession. The lives, the fortunes, and the consciences of the whole Turkish race were placed unreservedly in the hands of an acknowledged drunkard and half-imbecile. Through him this power descended to the children of his vile amours.

The weakness of one man could not of course cause the immediate downfall of so vast and firmly founded an empire. For a time the high spirit of Solyman still pervaded its counsels. Except when swayed by his Sultana, he had been a keen judge of men, and he had drawn around him a body of noble servitors. The venal Vizier Rustem, the creature of Khurrem, had been succeeded in his high office as second head of the empire by Sokolli, the artful secreter of his master's death, a soldier and statesman worthy of the rank.

Sokolli, by a wise diplomacy, managed to retain until his death, not only his place but also his honor, and was the real ruler of the empire throughout Selim's reign and during the first years of his successor. Selim was awed by his Vizier's high repute, and being content to revel in idleness with boon companions, seldom intruded on affairs of state.

The Turkish troops, however, were accustomed to being led to battle by their Sultan, and their inefficiency without the religious enthusiasm aroused by his presence, or at least by his guidance from afar, was soon sadly demonstrated. Sokolli had conceived the bold and statesmanly project of uniting by a canal the two great Russian rivers, the Volga and the Don, and thus securing for the Turkish fleet a passage from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea. This would assuredly have resulted in the conquest of all northern Persia, which was no longer protected from the Turks by the valor of its warriors, but only by the difficulty of approach

SOLYMAN AT HOME

(Roxalana Demands From Solyman the Head of His Vizier)

From a painting by the French artist, Georges Claudes

WHILE Solyman was thus extending his sway over all the world abroad, he was falling under the sway of a most treacherous despotism at home. He became the dupe of his own slave, the woman whom he made his Empress, the remarkable woman known to western Europe as Roxalana. Solyman himself called her Khurrem, which means gayety or the laughing one. Roxalana was a Russian girl, carried off in a Turkish raid and sold as a slave in Constantinople. Her beauty led to her being purchased for the Sultan's harem, and she soon gained an unbounded influence over Solyman.

Once established in power, Roxalana used her keen wit to destroy Solyman's most trusted counsellor, his Vizier Ilderim. She accused Ilderim of so many treacheries that at length Solyman had him executed. Next the treacherous empress directed her darts against Solyman's eldest son and natural successor, Mustapha; she had him banished and finally secured from the unhappy father the death of this favorite son. Then as Roxalana's own two sons grew toward manhood, she elected the more worthless of the two to be Solyman's successor, and drove the other son into rebellion, so that he, too, was slain. Then Roxalana herself died; and Solyman was left in his old age alone and desolate. He had been driven to execute the friend of his youth and the two ablest of his sons. He had lost even the woman for whose smiles he sacrificed them.

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across its dreary deserts. Azov, the city at the mouth of the Don, was already in Ottoman hands; but the region of the canal and Astrakhan, the famous port at the mouth of the Volga, had half a century before been taken from the Tartars by the Russians.

Sokolli's project, therefore, brought Russians and Turks for the first time into armed conflict. A force was sent to build the canal, another to seize Astrakhan, and the great Khan of the Crimea, ruler of all the northern Black Sea shore under the suzerainty of the Sultan, was commanded to aid the expedition. Instead, he naturally did all he could to discourage it. He did not wish the Ottomans brought closer to his domain, and in greater numbers. He worked upon the religious fears of the soldiers, reminded them of their distance from the Sultan, and explained that the short nights of the north would make it impossible for them to perform the duties of their faith, which required them to pray at evening, at midnight, and again at dawn. While in this superstitious mood they were attacked both at Astrakhan and on the Don by Russian forces. The disheartened Turks easily allowed themselves to be driven back and abandoned the expedition (1569). To the Ottoman Empire this appeared a mere frontier repulse by a barbarian tribe, and not till a century later did the two predestined rivals meet again in strife.

A far more noted disaster of Selim's reign was the great sea-fight of Lepanto (1571). According to some authorities this was directly attributable to the Sultan's drunken folly. He had acquired a special liking for the wine of Cyprus, and insisted that the home of so delicious a beverage must assuredly be added to his domains. The island of Cyprus belonged to Venice, and Sokolli, who on Solyman's death had hurriedly made peace with Western Europe, had no wish to revive against the ill-governed Turks, a coalition of the Christian powers. For once, however, all his arguments and diplomatic maneuvres in opposition to his master were without avail. With besotted stubbornness Selim insisted that Cyprus he must have. It was invaded and captured for him at a cost of fifty thousand lives.

The struggle left Venice, like Hungary, exhausted by her long resistance to the Ottomans. Another Solyman might have seized upon her territories with ease; but Selim's utterly unjustified aggression against Cyprus roused all Europe and startled the other states into a selfish fear for themselves. What Sokolli had dreaded took place. A Christian league was formed by the Pope, and an immense fleet was gathered not only of Venetian but of Spanish, Papal, Maltese, and other galleys, over two hundred in all. This armament, under the leadership of the renowned Don John of Austria, advanced to the Turkish coast and was met off Lepanto by the navy of Selim, superior to it in numbers, but hastily gathered and ill-prepared.

The battle of Lepanto was the greatest naval disaster the Turks ever encountered. If we except only the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the same genera-

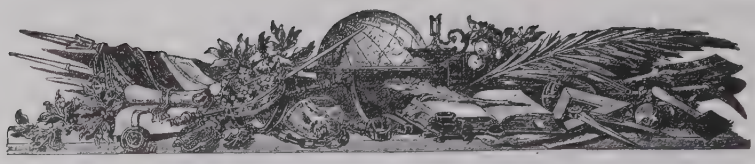
tion, no other sea-fight in history can compare with this, in the number of men and ships engaged, and in the completeness of the defeat. The entire Turkish fleet was destroyed or captured with the exception of a single squadron of about forty ships. The commander of this wing, the celebrated Ouloudj Ali, Bey of Algiers, had protested against encountering the enemy while the Turks were so unprepared. He was overborne in council, but in the battle he held his own. At its close, seeing the destruction that had come upon the Turkish centre, he with the ships of his wing broke boldly through the line of the Christians and escaped.

When news of this disastrous overthrow reached Constantinople, even Selim was startled from his indifference. He devoted his own private treasures to shipbuilding, he gave up a portion of his garden for the ship-yard. Ouloudj Ali, with the ships that he had rescued, cruised from port to port collecting around this remnant of the navy all the scattered craft that could be pressed into service. The Christian admirals, on the contrary, had dispersed to their homes to sing *Te Deums* of victory. When another year came around, there was a second Turkish fleet apparently as powerful as before, which under Ouloudj Ali, now surnamed Kilidj (the sword), baffled the Christian advance at every point.

A peace was agreed upon in 1573. Not only did Turkey retain Cyprus, but the helpless Venetians agreed to repay her for the cost of its conquest. Christian writers learning this said bitterly, that despite all the celebrations it was really the Turks who had won the battle of Lepanto.

Selim died from a drunken fall, and his son, Murad III (1574-95), a weakling in mind and body, succeeded him. The first words of each new Sultan on assuming power are regarded by his superstitious subjects as prophetic of the character of his reign. Murad's were, "I am hungry, bring me something to eat." His first official act was to command the slaughter of five brothers, apparently as worthless as himself. Murad was a woman-lover, always in his harem and completely under the influence of its occupants. His early reign was still marked by victories. Turkish generals conducted a successful and even glorious war against Persia, wresting from her all Georgia and the ancient capital, Tabriz. The peace of 1590 confirming these conquests marks the date of the greatest expansion of Turkish territory.

But the drain which for a quarter of a century had been sapping the resources of the empire to supply the debauchery of its base rulers, now began to be apparent. Not from the strength of its enemies without, but from decay within, came the downfall of the Turkish State. The marvel seems only that it so long withstood the evils gnawing at its root. Let us enumerate again the more obvious and generally recognized of these causes of decay. They were the repressive laws of Mahomet II, which arrested the development of the people; the ferocity of Selim the Destroyer, which taught them fear and falsehood; the increasing number and



HUNGARY'S UPRISING

(Countess Zrinyi Checks the Turkish Advance by Blowing Up Her Castle)

From a painting by the English artist, T. Allom

SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT had drifted into an old age of solitude; it was also to be one of military reverses. The glory of the Turkish crescent was waning at last, and perhaps the renowned Solyman by the destruction of his two ablest successors had done most of all men to bring about its fading. In 1565 all the armaments of Solyman were repulsed from the island of Malta. In 1566 a dispute arose as to the tribute to be sent Solyman by the ruler of the small fragment of Hungary still reckoned as part of the German Empire. So for a fifth time, Solyman, now grown very old and feeble, marched into Hungary.

As he approached close to Vienna, his progress was stopped by the obstinate resistance of a little fortress called Szigeth. The Hungarian Count Zrinyi defended this with such valor that the Turkish army settled before the castle for a regular siege. During this Solyman died. His Vizier concealed the death and ordered a general assault upon the fortress. When it was stormed, the wife of its commander stood by the powder magazine with a flaming torch; and, waiting till the last moment so as to destroy as many Turks as possible, she exploded the magazine and devoted herself, her home and her foes to a common destruction. The disheartened Turks retreated. The high tide of Turkish conquest began slowly now to ebb.

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turbulence of the Janizaries, whose whole training urged them to insolence and oppression; the corruption in office, which was introduced by the Vizier Rustem and which after Sokolli's death pervaded the entire empire; and above and behind all these, lay the inherent evil of an hereditary despotism, the decay which sooner or later must enervate its rulers.

In 1590 the foreign nations little suspected the change that had come over the conquering Turks. France sought their alliance. Elizabeth of England wrote them long letters urging their attack upon her enemy Philip II of Spain, and explaining to them how similar their faith was to that of Protestant England and how opposed were both to Catholicism. It was a common saying among the Turks that very little was needed to make the English genuine Mahometans.

The miseries of the people could not, however, be longer ignored. The devoted peasantry of Asia Minor had given of their substance to repeated tax-collectors until they faced starvation. The unpaid troops lived perforce by plunder, while their money was held back by thieving officers. In 1589 the storm broke. The Janizaries in the capital, furious at a new fraud imposed on them, surrounded the royal palace clamoring for the heads of the officials whose guilt they suspected. Sultan Murad yielded in instant terror, and the heads which they demanded rolled at their feet.

If one head, why not another? The Janizaries had learned their power. Twice within the next four years they repeated their clamor and compelled the removal of Grand Viziers who had not pleased them. Rival bands of troops fought civil wars against one another in the streets of Constantinople. Internal revolt, a thing hitherto unknown among the Turks, broke out in Asia Minor among the starving peasantry. The Christian border dependencies were also harassed beyond endurance. The mild and humane treatment previously accorded them was changed to intolerable oppression. Their people rebelled. In the "Wallachian Vespers" (1594) all the peaceful Turks of Wallachia were suddenly slaughtered. Both there and in Transylvania, the disorganized Ottoman armies were repeatedly and disgracefully defeated. The surrounding nations began to rouse themselves and take fresh heart against the hitherto irresistible Osmanli. The German Empire declared war and joined the Transylvanian insurgents. Even the Persions defended their threatened frontier with the vigor of new hope.

Amid these disasters Murad III died in dreary dissatisfaction and despondency. He was succeeded by his son Mahomet III (1595-1603), who signalized his accession by the execution of his nineteen brothers and also eight of his father's wives. The brothers were all young, probably all worthless, and the slaughter deserves mention only as being the most extensive of those hideous holocausts offered by each new Sultan to the evil policy of his race. Mahomet III instituted what became the practice of the future, by keeping his sons in a special part of the palace called

the "cage" from which they never emerged except to die or to reign. Their unfitness to do either seems thus to have been most effectually insured.

Meanwhile the advancing armies of the Germans, Hungarians and rebels had driven the Turks from almost all their European possessions north of the Danube. Every counsellor who still cared for the preservation of the empire, now vehemently urged the new Sultan to take the field in person. Only by his presence could the fanaticism of the soldiers be once more aroused, their obedience secured, and the triumphant enemies checked. After long hesitation and evasion, Mahomet III consented to lead his troops as his ancestors had done. Moreover the sacred standard of his namesake, the Prophet Mahomet, the most holy and treasured relic of the empire, was taken from its sanctuary and borne before the soldiers to inspire them.

They met the allied Christian armies on the plain of Cerestes near the river Theiss, and there were three days of fighting. The first day the Mahometans lost several standards and even the sacred relic of the Prophet was endangered. The terrified Sultan insisted he must withdraw and leave the troops to protect his retreat. Long and passionate entreaties from his generals persuaded him to remain, and the second day the Turks made some advance. The third day saw the final issue. Almost the entire army of the Turks was driven from the field, but a sudden charge of their cavalry caught the enemy unprepared and swept the whole Christian array into panic-stricken flight. Fifty thousand were slain. This was the last great triumph of Turk over Caucasian, of Mussulman over Christian (1596).

The Sultan took advantage of his tremendous victory to retreat to his capital and resume his life of indolence. Fortunately his generals proved able to maintain themselves against the weakened enemy, and the contest dragged on without much success on either side until in the reign of Mahomet's successor, peace was made by the treaty of Sitavorak (1606). This is worthy of note as the first diplomatic meeting in which the Turks condescended to deal with the Christians on equal terms, sending them high ambassadors, consenting to forego the customary presents, and employing toward the German Emperor titles of dignity equal to those with which the Sultan was addressed.

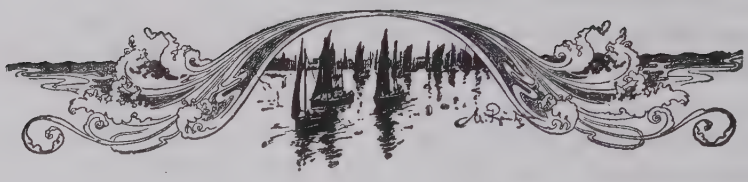
Why follow further the full list of the feeble rulers who now disgraced the throne of Osman? The irresponsible supremacy and tyranny of the Janizaries had become fully established, and their former masters were obliged to bend to their every whim. Osman II (1618–1622), the grandson of Mahomet III, deserves mention because, though only fourteen when crowned, he had evidently some conception of the disgrace of his position and endeavored to reassert his power.

He was a savage youth who practised archery by shooting at prisoners of war, and when the supply of these ran low, he fastened up one of his own attendants as a

THE CAPTIVES FROM LEPANTO

(Turkish Prisoners Sent to Vienna to Restore the Courage of Its People)

From a painting by the German artist, M. Zimmermann



THE CAPTIVES FROM LEPANTO

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From a painting by the German artist, E. Zimmerman

THE aged Solyman was succeeded on his throne by that incapable son whom Roxalana had selected. He is called Sultan Selim the Sot. In his day occurred the first great disaster to the Turkish arms, the celebrated seafight of Lepanto (1570). This is said to have been brought on by Selim's own folly. He was extremely fond of the rich wine of Cyprus, a fair Mediterranean island which still belonged to Venice. So as soon as he ascended the throne he insisted that this island must be added to his domains. The able Vizier of Solyman cautioned Selim against thus defying Europe. But Selim insisted.

This war saw the great seafight; and here again the Turkish admirals knew themselves unprepared for the fray and would have delayed it, but Selim insisted upon immediate battle. Don John of Austria, a brother of the great Spanish king Philip II, led the allied Christians. They attacked the Turks off the Greek gulf of Lepanto, and destroyed almost their entire navy. The Turks rallied and built another navy, but thereafter they were on the defensive. Captured Turks from Lepanto were sent to all sections of Germany to show the inhabitants that these Turks were not such terrible fellows after all. Especially were prisoners sent to Vienna, where they were compelled to work on fortifications to protect the city from any further assaults by their countrymen.

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target. To weaken the Janizaries, he made war on Poland and sent them thither. They preferred however to return and quarrel at home. Osman then announced his intent of making a pilgrimage to Mecca; but the Janizaries learned that his real purpose was to collect an army in Asia and return to crush them for their frequent seditions. In fury they demanded the heads of his advisers, and having secured these, they swept on to the farthest extreme of rebellion. Seizing Osman himself, they dragged him to prison and slew him there with excesses of cruelty equal to his own. They then placed upon the throne his predecessor Mustapha I, who had been deposed for utter imbecility. Even the feeling of personal loyalty and exaggerated reverence for the reigning descendant of Ertoghrul was thus broken down at last. The divinity which in Turkey had actually grown to "hedge a king" now shielded him no more. It was life for life; and the successors of Osman II could no longer slaughter their subjects with the same comfortable and reassuring sense of personal inviolability which had so upheld the successors of Osman I.

Murad IV (1623–1640), son of the poor imbecile Mustapha, was the next Sultan to assert himself. For a time he stayed the fall of the empire, holding the Janizaries in subjection and suppressing extortion and injustice by means of an injustice even more relentless. When Murad ascended the throne the Persians were victorious on the frontiers; all Asia Minor was in successful revolt; fleets of Cossack marauders were plundering even along the Bosphorus itself; the royal treasury was empty; and Murad was a boy of only twelve. In one of their tumults, the blood-thirsty rabble still dignified by the name of troops demanded the heads of seventeen of the young Sultan's closest friends and councillors. These he yielded to them perforce. But the mere fact that he protested against yielding led the Janizaries to talk of his dethronement.

It is evident that Murad studied the situation long and thoughtfully; but he made no movement until he reached the age of twenty. Then slowly and cautiously he gathered round him what little remained of better sentiment within the capital. He employed the antagonism of the Janizaries against the other troops to suppress the latter. Afterward he seized upon the leaders of the Janizaries themselves. A few faithful followers supported him, and the soldiers were bullied into submission. A celebrated gathering was held at which Murad himself and then each one of his officials swore to restore the ancient order, justice and honor of the empire.

Then began a reign of terror, a series of wholesale executions. The Sultan had kept track of every servant who had ever insulted him, every soldier who had rioted in the streets. They were killed by hundreds. Unwarned victims were summoned from their homes night after night by secret messengers and haled before secret executioners. No man knew but his own turn might come next, and no man dared oppose this grim and watchful young avenger.

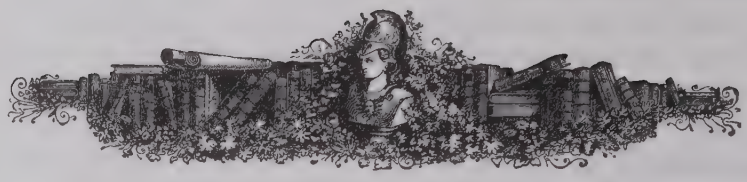
Having thus established himself in his capital, Murad made a royal progress through his empire, taking note of the state of every district and slaying every unjust official he encountered. His character has often been paralleled with that of Selim the Destroyer. At first Murad struck down only the guilty, but the habit of massacre grew. The value of human life was lost to him, and at the merest suspicion against the officials who came forth from each town and knelt before his charger, he would strike out savagely with his scimeter. Their heads rolled beneath the hoofs of his steed. Worse and worse grew his unrestrained ferocity until it was a madness in itself, and in his later years he seemed scarce human. A party of women were making merry in a field, and he ordered them drowned merely because their laughter disturbed him as he passed. If, as he rode forth, any unfortunate crossed or impeded the road, the offender was shot down, often by the Sultan himself.

Before Murad's severity thus degenerated into atrocity, it had already brought back to the empire something of the ancient military order and prestige. Once more a Sultan led his armies in person, and the Persians felt the weight of his iron hand. They were defeated and reduced to such a degree that it was nearly a century before they again measured themselves against the might of Turkey.

Murad had no sons of his own, hence he had permitted one of his brothers, Ibrahim, to survive, though keeping the unfortunate in confinement and in a constant fear of assassination which reduced him to a pitiful state of mental weakness. Murad in his own last hour resolved to slay this brother also, and commanded his execution. The attendants of the Sultan, horrified at the thought of the utter extinction of the sacred race, strove to dissuade their master from his purpose, and when he persisted, they only pretended to have obeyed him. The fierce despot in the very pangs of death insisted on seeing the corpse, and expired in a desperate effort to rise and be thus assured of the fulfillment of his order. Ibrahim, being hurriedly told of his brother's fate and hailed as Sultan, refused to believe his fortune, barricaded his door and swore to fight for life. Not until Murad's body was in its turn borne before him, did he accept the truth, and realize that his chance had come to rule.

Sultan Ibrahim (1640-1648) promptly proceeded to undo what little good his brother had accomplished. He presents to us the type of Ottoman Sultan at its very lowest, a fool so dull as to know no pleasure but debauchery, a trembling coward who dared not leave his palace walls, who squandered untold wealth upon his harem and thought of his subjects only as the source of all the treasure of which he robbed them to satisfy his immeasurable extravagances.

Fiction is outdone by such tales as that of his "fur tax." An old woman maundering through ancient fairy stories for the amusement of his idle beauties, described a king clothed all in sables and having every drapery about his palace



A HAREM TRAGEDY

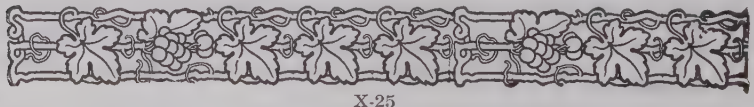
(Mahomet III Orders the Execution of His Father's Wives)

From a painting by the French artist, Paul Bouchard

THE triumphs of the Turks had been largely the result of the splendid leadership of their rulers, the remarkable men of the vigorous and able race of Osman. Now the power of that race seemed to have exhausted itself with Solyman. His son Selim was, as we have seen, described by his own devoted subjects as "the Sot." Selim was succeeded by his son, Murad III, another weakling, who began his career by ordering the slaughter of his five brothers, lest they become his rivals. Murad, like Selim, spent his life in idle debauchery, taxing his subjects extravagantly and squandering the money in folly, while the people sank into wretchedness.

Murad was followed in 1595 by his son Mahomet III, who signalized his accession by the most wholesale murder of relatives which had yet disgraced the family of the Osmanli. Murad had bred up many children, he had twenty sons. Mahomet dispatched his negro slaves to slay the whole nineteen of his brothers who were unlucky enough to be younger than he. The murderer also extended this savage method of protecting himself from possible rivals, by slaying his father's many wives. These unfortunate women were murdered in the harem, by his orders.

Thus the splendor of the house of Osman sank beneath these successive slaughters by its own members, Solyman, Murad and Mahomet III. The glory of the race was drowned in its own blood.



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and even its carpets underfoot of the same rare and costly fur. The impossible vastness of the idea challenged Ibrahim's weak mind. He vowed he could do as much and immediately laid a "fur tax" upon his entire empire, ordering every high official to send him such quantities of sables as in reality did not exist in the entire world. Homes were desolated and officers tortured to compel their compliance with this impossible demand, and Ibrahim long insisted upon enforcing the punishments though he could not get the furs.

At another time, finding that his ladies delighted in buying all sorts of fineries, but that paying the bills was less pleasant, he commanded that every shopkeeper must allow members of the royal harem to take what they pleased without payment. Then, one of his capricious beauties complaining that shopping by daylight was uncomfortable, he further ordered the unlucky merchants to keep their places open through the night, and well lighted so that no part of their wares might pass unobserved by their expensive customers.

Ibrahim was so fortunate or unfortunate as to secure a Vizier who, caring only for his place, not for his country, humored his master's folly to its fullest bent. Whenever the feeble minded Sultan himself expressed amaze that what he desired was invariably approved as right, the Vizier replied, "My Sultan, thou art Caliph; thou art God's Shadow upon earth. Every idea which thy spirit entertains is a revelation from Heaven. Thy orders, even when they appear unreasonable, have an innate reasonableness, which thy slave ever reveres, though he may not always understand."

This comfortable doctrine Ibrahim eagerly accepted, and he insisted upon using it to justify every whim, every cruelty, every foulest abomination. Surely no ruler, no government, could have sunk to lower depths of self-abandonment than the Osmanli had thus reached.

Turkish Warrior (*From a Contemporary Print*)

THE TURKS BESIEGING VIENNA

Chapter VII

DOWNFALL OF TURKISH POWER AND EFFORTS OF THE KIUPRILI

[*Authorities:* As before, also Coxe, "History of the House of Austria"; Curtis, "The Turk and his Lost Provinces"; Finlay, "Greece under Ottoman Dominion."]

ONE of the surprising facts of history is that the Ottoman empire, having fallen into such utter decrepitude at home, still continued, and to this day continues, to exist. For more than a hundred years, even after the accession of Selim the Sot (1566), it managed to retain its wide territories practically undiminished, its frontiers on the whole advancing rather than receding. This century of empty bombast, this semblance of strength after the reality had departed, was due largely to the condition of Western Europe. There the fierce religious strife of Catholic and Protestant had culminated in the terrible "Thirty Years' War," which left the Empire of the Germans even more exhausted than was that of the Turks.

Other causes for the apparent vitality of the Ottoman State lay in the enormous and preponderating strength which it had attained during the three centuries from Osman to Solyman, and in the high character of the common Turks for honesty and valor, traits which all these later generations with their indescribably evil government, have not wholly eradicated. Moreover something must be accredited to the good fortune of Mahomet III, who had so unexpectedly seen defeat shift into overwhelming victory at Cerestes (1596), to the fury of Murad IV who fought fire with fire, and finally to the noted family of Kiuprili. Five of the sons of this house held the Grand Vizierate at intervals between 1656 and 1710, and

THE LAST GREAT VICTORY

(The Turks Lose Their Standards and Are Thus Roused to Victory at Cerestes)

From a painting by the Austrian artist, Josef von Brandt

MAHOMET III proved a weakling like his father and his grandfather. And now at last Europe began to realize the increasing degeneracy of this terrible race of its foes. Moreover, the cruel and grasping taxation which supplanted the just and encouraging rule of the earlier Osmanli, drove the subject Christian races to revolts of desperation. On the borders of Poland and Hungary also, the Christions revolted and secured help from the German Empire.

In this extremity Mahomet III was finally persuaded to take the field in person as his mighty ancestors had done. He was most unwilling to leave the safety and pleasure of his palace life; but he did finally place himself at the head of his troops and met the advancing Christian army in a huge three days' battle at Cerestes (1596). On the first day the Turkish advance guard was broken and its standards captured. Not since the days of Hunyadi had a royal Turkish army been thus repelled, and the Christians rejoiced exceedingly. But their triumph was premature; on the second day Mahomet appeared in person on the field and his troops held their own. On the third day, in a sudden access of fanatic fury, they swept the Christians utterly from the field. For the last time the might of the dwindling crescent asserted itself above all the strength of Europe.

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were the real rulers of the empire, displaying a spirit of wisdom and patriotism scarce inferior to that of the early Osmanli.

Sultan Ibrahim, the foolish, had been at length deposed by the exasperated victims of his tyranny, deposed and slain, protesting to the last that his words were inspired of God and that this assault upon him really could not be. His child son, Mahomet IV (1648–1687), was girded with the sword of Osman, and anarchy ran riot. Sultanas and slaves contested for rule over the child and the empire, until a general council or divan of the chief officials was called in desperation, and all agreed that the only escape from the endless disaster and horror on every hand was to place a strong Vizier in full control.

Mahomet Kiuprili, seventy years old, who had begun life as a kitchen-boy and risen by stern rigor and justness through all the ranks of state, was the chosen man. He made every general, every sultana, swear absolute obedience to him before he would accept the office. Then he held it with a hand of iron. Every offender whom he ever suspected was executed without mercy. He never reprimanded. "His blows outsped his words." Thirty thousand officials are said to have perished during the five brief years of his sway. Then he died, handing down his authority to his son, Achmet Kiuprili, a young man of only twenty-six, but a patriot and statesman yet greater than his sire.

Mahomet Kiuprili had restored order to the state; Achmet sought to restore its ancient military strength. The degeneracy of the Turkish arms had long been suspected in Europe; the German Empire recuperated rapidly from the Thirty Years' War; and, after a peace of seventy years enforced by the weakness of both East and West, hostilities in Hungary were renewed. In 1664, the Vizier, having gathered an army that in numbers and outward appearance resembled one of the old-time levies of valiant and victorious Turks, advanced against Austria, capturing fortress after fortress. He was met by the Imperial general Montecuculi, eminent as a writer and tactician as well as a soldier. Montecuculi points out for us how much the Turkish military organization had degenerated in the previous seventy years, spent only in Asiatic warfare; and he shows also how vastly European arms and tactics had developed by the experience of the Thirty Years' War. Though his troops were much inferior in number, he completely defeated Achmet in the battle of St. Gotthard. The tide of victory had turned at last.

Achmet hastened to make peace. Yet with such art did he take advantage of the internal dissensions of the German Empire, that he exacted his own terms of profit rather than loss. The respite thus secured he devoted to the training of his antiquated army. A war for the conquest of the island of Crete had been dragging on for twenty years; he ended it with vigor and success (1669), and next turned his attention to the north. The Cossacks beyond the Turkish border line,

in what is now southern Russia, admitted some vague allegiance to either Poland or Russia and were domineered over by both governments. In 1672, they appealed to Turkey for protection, and their district, the Ukraine, was enrolled in the list of Turkish dependencies. Both Poland and Russia protested and threatened war.

Kiuprili defied them in a letter worthy of the days of Solyman: "If the inhabitants of an oppressed country, in order to obtain deliverance, implore the aid of a mighty emperor, is it prudent to pursue them in such an asylum? When the most mighty and most glorious of all emperors is seen to deliver and succor from their enemies those who are oppressed, and who ask him for protection, a wise man will know on which side the blame of breaking peace ought to rest. If, in order to quench the fire of discord, negotiation is wished for, so let it be. But if the solution of differences is referred to that keen and decisive judge called 'The Sword,' the issue of the strife must be pronounced by the God who has poised upon nothing Heaven and earth, and by whose aid Islamism has for a thousand years triumphed over its foes."

War with Poland followed. At first the Vizier was so successful that not only the Ukraine but other parts of Poland were surrendered to him. Then however, arose the famous Polish leader, Sobieski, who twice defeated Kiuprili, at Khoczim (1673) and at Lemberg (1675). A general under the Vizier, more fortunate than his master, restored the balance of power by checking Sobieski, and the dissensions of the Poles led them to accept the loss of their territory and conclude peace (1676).

This same year Achmet Kiuprili died. Despite his repulses at the hands of Montecuculi and Sobieski, he had outranked both their governments at the game of diplomacy. He extended the frontier of the Turks to its widest European extent, and he restored among his people their ancient confidence in themselves and in their destiny. Better still, he did all this with justice and without extortionate taxation. Under him the prosperity of the Turkish common people began to revive. Blessings, not curses, were heaped upon him at home, and he was hailed with truth as the "light and splendor of the nation."

His death may well be taken as marking the last expiring glow of Turkish power. The boy Sultan, Mahomet IV, was now grown a man, and he conferred the Vizierate not on one of the Kiuprili, but on a brother-in-law of his own, Kara Mustapha, who in contradistinction to his predecessor, has been poetically called by the Ottomans "the curse of the Empire." His ambitions were as vast as his abilities were weak. Like the common Turks, he seems really to have believed in the invincibility of his race, and he planned to conquer all Germany and hold it as an empire of his own.

He had first, however, to encounter Russia, which now began to assert herself

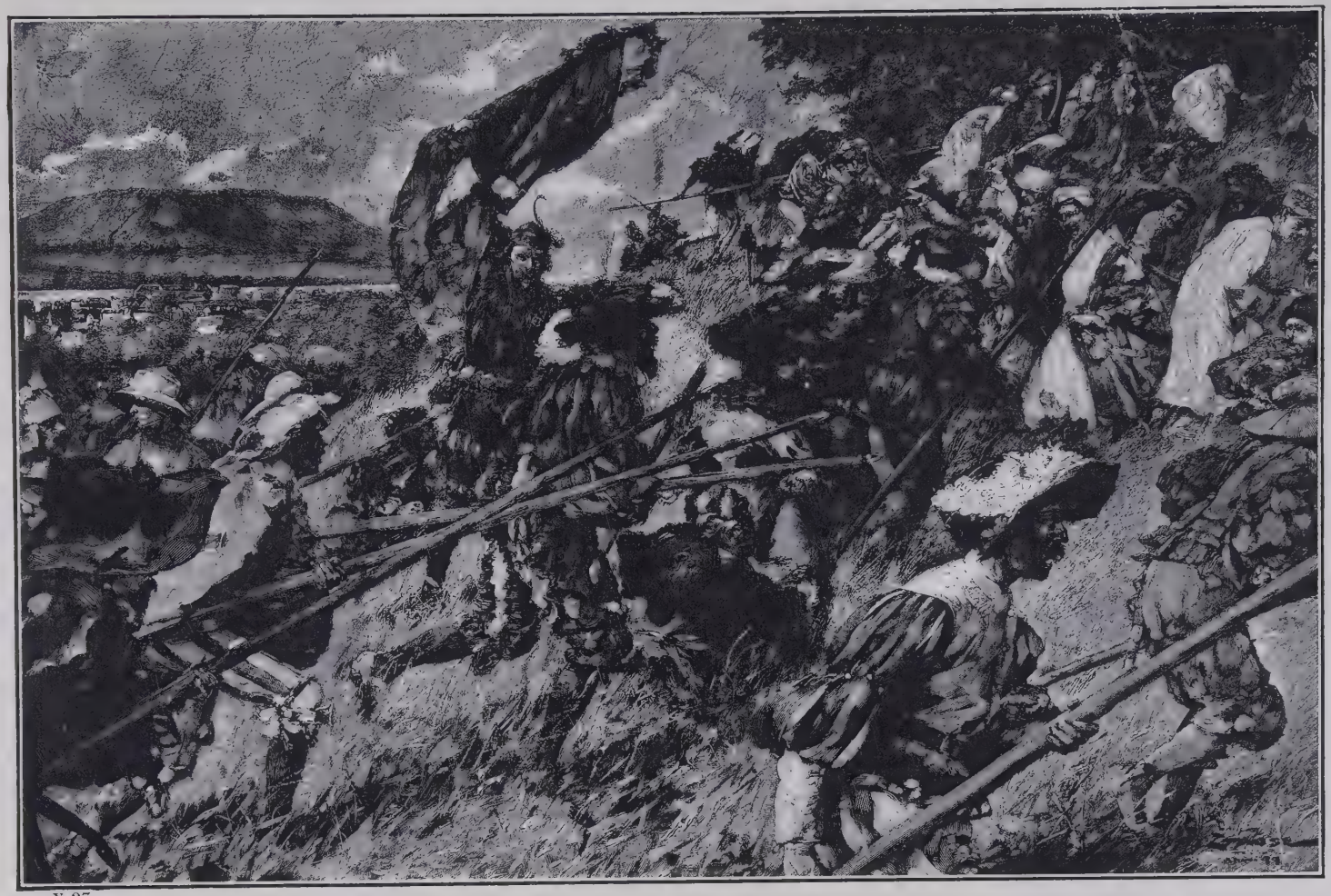
THE DEFEAT AT ST. GOTTHARD

(Europe Learns From Her Bitter Religious Wars a More Effective Way of Fighting, and Austria Easily Defeats the Turks)

From a drawing made in 1899 by W. Gause

WE turn now to watch the retreating tide of Turkish conquest. The battle of Cerestes broke for a moment the advance of the Christians. But immediately after this success Mahomet III returned to his palace life of indolence and selfishness. He had been too near to death and disaster at Cerestes to have any wish for military glory. Yet that last victory had been so overwhelming as to preserve the Turkish domains in Europe from further attack for almost a century. Germany was distracted by the horror of her own great "Thirty Years War," and the Turkish Sultans spent their time in idle pleasure or in war against the feeble Asiatic tribes to the east of them. Meanwhile the military science of Europe advanced with gigantic strides. The German Wallenstein, the Swede Gustavus Adolphus, and the Frenchman Richelieu, taught men a new art of war.

When, in 1664, Germany was once more freed from internal dissension and ready to renew the interminable war between cross and crescent, the armies of the two races met on a wholly different footing. A vigorous Turkish Vizier, Achmet Kiuprili, advanced against Vienna and was met by the Austrian general, Montecuculi, in the battle of St. Gotthard. The Austrian troops were a mere handful as opposed to the Turkish hordes, but the superior weapons of the Europeans and their vastly superior steadiness and training enabled them easily to sweep the Turks from the field.



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against the Porte and started that victorious southward advance by which she has assumed the role of the avenger of Greek Christianity upon the Moslems. Russia had not been a party to the treaty by which Poland transferred to Turkey the land of the Cossacks. She encouraged the Cossacks in rebellion against their new suzerain, and when Kara Mustapha led an immense army into the disputed territory, Cossacks and Russians joined in defeating him at Cehzrym (1677). Astonished at the wholly unexpected overthrow, the Turks recalled their failure at Astrakhan a century before, and acquired toward the Muscovites an instinctive fear never afterward overcome. Mustapha yielded the Ukraine to Russia and sought an easier glory elsewhere.

A revolt of the Hungarians against Austrian tyranny furnished an excuse for the interference of the ambitious Vizier. The greater part of Hungary was already Turkish, and the remainder now asked, as had the Cossacks, for Turkish protection against Christian oppression. Mustapha raised an army of two hundred and seventy-five thousand regular troops, beside vast swarms of irregulars more like brigands, whose numbers probably swelled the total to half a million men. With this enormous force he advanced in 1683 to accomplish the project of his dreams, the conquest of Vienna, that barrier which had broken the first tremendous wave of Ottoman advance under Şolyman.

Christendom, divided into its many petty states, could muster no such host as Mustapha's to oppose him; but it had now soldiers better than the Turks, a spirit nobler than theirs, and generals immeasurably superior to the incompetent Vizier. The Emperor fled from Vienna, but its citizens defended it under Count Stahremberg. For two months they held back the Turks; then the end seemed near. The walls were in ruins; the besieged garrison was wofully depleted and a final assault must almost inevitably have been successful. But Mustapha suddenly displayed an avarice as ill-timed as his previous ambition. If Vienna were stormed, his soldiers would plunder it at will; if it surrendered, he could hold them back and exact an enormous payment for himself. So he negotiated, and the Viennese negotiated and thus kept him in check while the Emperor who had fled, strove desperately to persuade some one to lend him an army for the rescue of his capital. Sobieski of Poland, the victor over Kiuprili, finally marched to Vienna's aid. Mustapha refused to believe the news that the Christians were advancing against him. The Poles and Germans combined had managed to raise less than seventy thousand men, and the Vizier was sure they would not dare attack him. Hence he was culpably negligent, and Sobieski's final assault was somewhat in the nature of a surprise. The Viennese joined in the attack and the Turks gave way under it almost immediately. Their vast army dispersed in utter rout. Mustapha, bewildered and furious, blamed the defeat upon everybody but himself, and as he fled southward with his officers he had them slain one

after another, day after day, until finally there came from Constantinople the dread order for his own execution.

As news spread of the great national disaster, the Ottoman Empire was attacked on every side. Her foes had only been held in check by fear; they leaped on her like wolves on a wounded stag. In the north, Russia declared war and advanced with the Cossacks against the Khan of the Crimea. From the north-west came the Poles. The Imperial armies entered Turkish Hungary. The Albanians revolted. Even feeble Venice found an able general in Morosini and reconquered the lower part of Greece, the ancient Peloponessus. The Imperial forces repossessed themselves of Buda, the Hungarian capital; in 1687 they gained a great victory at Mohacs, the very field on which Solyman had crushed the Hungarian power. The Sultan Mahomet IV was compelled to abdicate. Once more there was tumult and unbridled riot in Constantinople.

Yet the proud Turks did not yield readily to their foes. For a brief time a third Kiuprili was made Vizier, a brother of Achmet. He crushed the Albanian revolt; he recaptured Belgrade, which had surrendered; he inaugurated vast internal reforms. Then—if he could not save his country he could at least die for it—he attacked the Imperial armies at Slankamen, rashly we are told, and perished leading on a last desperate, unsuccessful charge of his devoted soldiers (1691).

The next Sultan, Mustapha II (1695-1703), for a moment promised better things. He defeated the Imperialists in several minor battles, but in 1697 he was overthrown at Zenta by the celebrated general Prince Eugene. Thereon Mustapha fled to Constantinople and abandoned himself like his predecessors to the life of the seraglio.

In the extremity to which the staggering empire was thus reduced, it was saved by a fourth Kiuprili, Housein, descended from a brother of the first Vizier of the race. Being invested with the Vizierate (1697), Housein sought for peace; and England and Holland, alarmed at the increasing power of the other European States, aided his efforts. Much against the will of some of the combatants, a general treaty was arranged in 1699. From the town of the Danube where the envoys met, this was known as the Peace of Carlowitz.

Reckoning from the first ill-starred advance of Kara Mustapha against Vienna, this war had lasted sixteen years. It left Turkey shorn indeed, but by no means crushed. Poland, after the first great victory of Sobieski, had taken little part in the contest, the death of her king involving her in difficulties of her own. Yet in recognition of her services to their cause, the victorious Powers insisted that by the treaty she receive again the provinces of which Achmet Kiuprili had deprived her. Russia during the early years of the war had found her best efforts checked by the Khan of the Crimea, who with his wild Tartar riders proved a most

THE REPULSE FROM VIENNA

(Stahremberg Leads Forth His Men to Assail the Vast Turkish Horde)

From a painting by the Austrian artist, A. Greil

ASTONISHED by the defeat of St. Gotthard the Turks hastened to make terms of peace. Then they devoted themselves to the training of their soldiers, and so improved these that for a time they fought Poles and Russians upon equal terms. Soon, however, there arose among the Turks a new Vizier, a man of no practical experience, a mere palace favorite, as foolish as he was ignorant. This man, Kara Mustapha, seems to have believed, as did most of the more ignorant Turks, that the nation was as invincible as ever. He planned to conquer Europe; and gathering all the troops of the empire, he deliberately defied Germany and marched to attack Vienna (1683).

In this last rush of the Turks upon Europe, they were formidable in nothing but their numbers. There seem to have been half a million of them; and Kara Mustapha boasted that he would march through Europe from end to end as he thought his predecessors should have done. Count Stahremberg, the Austrian commander of Vienna, held the city bravely for two months. Then a Polish army under Sobieski came to his aid. The Poles numbered less than eighty thousand and Kara Mustapha laughed at the idea of their attacking his vast army. But Stahremberg led his soldiers boldly forth from Vienna to join Sobieski; the two assailed the Turks suddenly and unexpectedly; and the undisciplined masses proved wholly incapable of resisting them. The Turks fled in utter rout.

valuable Turkish ally. Toward the end of the struggle, that mightiest of the Czars, Peter the Great, had come into complete authority, and in a siege noteworthy upon both sides, he had won from the Turks their chief northern defense, the fortress city of Azov at the mouth of the Don. This with its surrounding territory, Russia retained, thus winning the first step of her advance, a foothold on the Sea of Azov. To Venice was given up the whole of the Peloponessus, though the Turks probably intended this concession to be only temporary, knowing that the region could some day be recovered. One of their ambassadors scornfully told the Venetian minister a story of a pickpocket who, creeping up while some mighty wrestlers were engaged in contest, stole the garments of one. He added point to the sarcasm by remarking that later the pickpocket would probably have to yield up the purloined robe and his own skin as well.

The main loss to Turkey was on the Hungarian frontier. There she had met the Imperial forces, and there suffered her principal defeats. Most of Hungary and all Transylvania, her possessions of nearly two centuries, were given over to Austria, and certain rights and privileges were exacted for the Christians of the Balkan regions which remained under Ottoman rule, thus establishing a pretext for further interference. The disintegration of European Turkey was vigorously begun.

Kara Mustapha

COSSACKS RAIDING THE TURKISH CRIMEA

Chapter VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE WARS WITH RUSSIA

[*Authorities:* As before, also Alison, "History of Europe"; Russell, "Russian Wars with Turkey"; Memoirs of Catharine II.]

THE treaty of Carlowitz (1699) may fairly be regarded as marking the entrance of Turkey into Europe's diplomatic circle. Hitherto the Ottomans had stood beyond that circle, indifferent, half contemptuous of its intrigues and disputes. They had been foes to all the Christian States, had defied united Europe, and in their warfare had sought no allies except from their own conquered dependencies.

Now this was changed. The statesmen of the Porte no longer made any pretense of being a match for all Christianity combined. The inefficiency of their brave but untrained troops was fully realized. The Sultan expressed his gratitude to both England and Holland for having intervened between him and the many enemies that had beleaguered him. Short-sighted theorists even began to reckon on the speedy expulsion of the Turks from Europe. But if not a match for all the peoples of the West, the Osmanli still felt themselves the equal of any single power. They began, therefore, to imitate the others in the game of statecraft, to seek alliances and bargains, to stir up strife and division among opponents.

In this new diplomacy, the Vizier Hausein, last of the greater Kiuprili, had no part. Finding it impossible to make head against the corruption which permeated

THE LOSS OF BUDA

(The Austrians Enter in Wonder at the Flight of Their Foes)

From a painting by the Austrian artist, G. Benczur

THAT repulse from Vienna was the breaking point of Turkish power. Mustapha in his blind over-confidence had left no rallying point from which he could evade complete disaster. His men fled; he himself was executed by his Sultan's order; and the European domains of Turkey were left helplessly exposed to the advance of her foes. At first these did not realize the completeness of their triumph. Sobieski led his Poles home, glorying at having saved Vienna. The Austrians advanced slowly and cautiously. They re-took Buda almost without resistance. This city, the ancient Hungarian capital, had been in Turkish possession for over a century and a half; and only when they found it undefended did the Europeans realize in full the panic of their foes.

Then they hurled themselves eagerly forward. Albania revolted, so did all Hungary. Russia, Venice, Austria plunged into the war. The Turks rallied and fought for a while, then consented to a peace by which they surrendered all Hungary to Austria, and also yielded substantial slices of territory to their other foes. Turkey in Europe took on somewhat the form which it was to hold for another century or more, until modern Europe consented to the continuance of its dismemberment in 1878.

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the entire Empire, he resigned and died (1703).* With him departed Turkey's last chance of regaining her ancient honor abroad and prosperity at home. There was another eruption of the Janizaries, and another Sultan deposed.

Under the new Sultan, Achmet III (1703–1730), the wars of Charles XII against Russia were eagerly encouraged by the Turks. Definite promises of assistance were given him—and not redeemed. When defeated, Charles fled to Turkey and the Sultan became his protector. It was then that the great Russian Czar Peter encountered the most serious failure of his remarkable career. He had consented unwillingly to the peace of Carlowitz. It gave him Azov but he hoped for more, and he believed Turkey to be well-nigh helpless. Hence the shelter given Charles, his enemy, and a dozen other trifling complaints, were magnified into cause for war and Peter marched against the Turks. He was lured far southward, even as Charles had been. Vain promises of help reached him from the little semi-dependent chiefs of the wild borderland between Russia and Turkey. On the banks of the Pruth River, the Czar found himself with an exhausted and enfeebled army, suddenly surrounded by masses of the Ottoman troops. Capture being inevitable, Peter philosophically negotiated a peace with the Vizier who had so cleverly entrapped him (1711).

Though capable as a soldier, this Vizier, Bultadji, once a wood-cutter's son, proved weak as a diplomat and allowed the Czar to depart upon terms so mild as to excite the ridicule of the Russians and the anger of the Sultan, who dismissed Bultadji from office. Peter was compelled to do little more than promise to return Azov and the surrounding region into Turkish hands. Once in safety again, he evaded the fulfillment of even this slight pledge until the Turks threatened another war. Being just then busily engaged in robbing Sweden, the wily Russian consented to be bound by his agreement and surrendered Azov, sooner than fight two foes at the same time.

The Turks next turned their attention to the Peloponessus, reconquered it from Venice, and were pressing forward to attack Italy itself, when the Austrian Emperor once more interposed. Ostensibly in aid of Venice, he declared war and sent the celebrated Prince Eugene to win further glory from the Turks. Eugene defeated them at Peterwardein (1716) and again at Belgrade (1717) and thus enforced another peace. By the treaty the Austrian Emperor abandoned the interests of Venice and consented that the Turks should retain the Peloponessus, he receiving in return another large portion of their Danubian territory.

We next find the Turks in actual alliance with the Russians, the two empires agreeing to aid each other in attacking feeble Persia (1723). A little territorial plunder was secured by the despoilers, but there was no real friendship between

* One other Kiuprili, the last Grand Vizier of the race, held office in 1710, 1711. He was appointed mainly because of his name and was not particularly successful as a ruler.

them, the Russians in truth waiting only till they should feel strong enough to throw themselves again upon their southern neighbor and wipe out the disgrace of Czar Peter's defeat and capitulation.

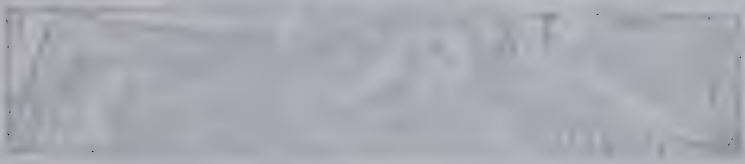
The time did not seem ripe until 1736, when Constantinople had again passed through the throes of a Janizary revolt and the Turks were suffering severe repulses from the Persians. Then, without a declaration of war, the able Russian general Munnich was sent to attack Azov and ravage the Crimea. He did his work with a thoroughness and cruelty that have kept his name vividly before the world. Azov surrendered; and the slaughter of all classes of helpless non-combatants in the Crimea was widespread and hideous.

Envious of Russia's "glory" and plunder, Austria joined hands with her and began a second war of unprovoked aggression against the Sultan. His envoys, still new to the etiquette of diplomacy, and unwilling to face so many foes at once, urged upon the Austrians the oath of peace sworn to Turkey by the Emperor When the Austrians tried to evade the responsibility of this oath, the Turkish ambassador called all present to join him in an earnest prayer that the authors of the war might suffer the curses of the war, and that God would distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. The appeal was solemnly offered up by both Mahometans and Christians.

Doubtless it would be going too far to regard this ceremony as the reason for the failure of the Austrians. They had overestimated both the strength of their own arms and the decay of the Turks. Their victories in the previous generation had been mainly due to the military genius of Prince Eugene. Now their leaders were rash and incompetent. They were repulsed again and again and finally defeated in a decisive battle at Krotzka (1738). Belgrade was besieged by the Turks; and Austria terrified and panic-stricken sought peace on any terms, surrendering not only Belgrade but all her other conquests of Eugene's last war. The Austro-Turkish frontier then became practically what it remained until 1876.

The treaty left the Porte free to fight Russia single-handed. So far, Marshal Munnich had been very successful, having won possession of almost all the Turkish territory along the Black Sea and beyond the Danube. It is significant, however, of the high repute in which the Ottoman Empire was still held, that Russia on finding herself alone to face the victorious army which came marching from Belgrade, promptly made terms of peace by which she surrendered all her recent acquisitions in the Crimea. It was agreed by both parties that Azov, the original bone of contention, should be destroyed.

Following upon this vigorous effort of the Turks, their empire was allowed to repose in peace for a generation. The warlike spirit of their race seems largely to have disappeared, and despite several opportunities offered by the increasing weakness of Austria, they were well content to leave matters as they stood abroad.



THE SERVIAN UPRISING

(Black George Rouses His Countrymen to Fight For Freedom)

After a painting by the English artist, R. Caton Woodville

DURING the century and a half that followed the loss of Buda, Turkey was slowly falling further and further behind the rest of Europe in the march of civilization. Her Sultans became as feeble in practical affairs as they were revered for their religious sanctity. The Janizaries, that powerful body of troops who had once terrorized Europe, became a mere riotous rabble, so busy plundering for themselves at home that they more than once refused flatly to march against a foreign enemy. The empire almost fell apart; the ruler of each province governed it as an independent state and plundered its people as he chose.

Under this savage and reckless regime, so different from the firm and liberal rule of the earlier Osmanli, the subject peoples, especially the Christians suffered horribly. The first to break into open revolt were the Servians. In 1804 a peasant leader arose among them, "Black George," whose descendants hold the Servian throne to-day. George by repeated fiery appeals roused his countrymen to desperation. They attacked the Janizaries, who were ravaging the province and drove them out. For over twelve years George held Servia independent. Then he was driven to flight by a Turkish army. Other peasants, however, took up his work and the struggle never wholly ceased until Servia was free. The disintegration of the Turkish empire thus began within its own borders.

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while sloth, treachery and extortion held sway at home. To Russia this period was one of preparation. Twice had she defeated the Turks in battle, and yet lost the reward for which she sought, the possession of an outlet to the Black Sea. Her statesmen were fully convinced that destiny pointed their way to Constantinople, and under their great empress, Catharine II, they deliberately prepared for a renewal of the struggle. Their encroachments roused Sultan Mustapha III (1757–1773) to sudden, unreasoning anger, and without taking time for preparation, he unexpectedly declared instant war. The wiser counsellors who besought him to wait at least until armies could be gathered, were dismissed from office, and he attempted with his own untried hands the gigantic task of rousing his lethargic people from their torpor (1768).

The sharp-tongued Frederick the Great of Prussia called this war a victory of the one-eyed over the blind. The Turks had certainly fallen far below Western Europe through lack of discipline among their troops, the uselessness of their antiquated weapons, and the ignorance and folly of their leaders. The Russian generals were subtle and well-trained, though still half savages and utterly indifferent to the lives of their common soldiers. Thousands upon thousands of these were allowed to perish on the march and in the camp. Fever and exhaustion preyed upon them because of the lack of the commonest necessities of life.

The Russians, however, were all in readiness for the war, and they swept their opponents out of the Crimea, drove them back from the Danube, and advanced to the Balkans. The Turkish rabble, miscalled an army, was put to flight again and again. Never had the Ottoman troops been so completely disgraced. At the same time a Russian fleet sailed from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, roused a rebellion in Greece, and destroyed the few hastily gathered ships of the Turks at Tchesme, though the success of the Russians was due, not to their own commander, but to the English officers who accompanied him.

As illustrative of the density of the ignorance into which the once enlightened Osmanli had sunk, it appears that they had been warned of the coming of this northern fleet, but scornfully insisted that no passage existed from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the ocean of the north to that of the south. When the fleet actually appeared among them, they sent a formal and threatening protest to Venice, assuming that their enemies must somehow have come south through the Adriatic Sea.

So crushing were the Turkish disasters, that the Porte itself begged for peace, the first time this confession of weakness, this downward step had been taken in its career. So exacting however, were the terms insisted upon by the Russians, that the peace negotiations were broken off and the war resumed.

This time the Turks attained better results. Incompetent leaders had been weeded out, and genuine patriotism and the desperation of despair nerved the

faltering arms of the remainder. Besides, the Empress Catharine had entered upon the partition of Poland. She needed all her troops to crush resistance there. The "Oriental project" could wait. Hence in 1774 another peace was made, and a new treaty, that of Kanjierdi, was signed, the Russians insisting that it should date from the anniversary of that which Peter the Great had been compelled to accede to at Pruth, sixty-three years before. The triumph, and what they called the moderation of the later peace, would, they felt, outweigh the shame of the other. Azov and a few other fortresses were surrendered to Russia, and the Khanate of the Crimea was declared a wholly independent kingdom, this being a rather obvious prelude to its annexation by its powerful northern neighbor, though the Empress took the most solemn vows not to undertake any such procedure.

Our story now passes over a long period containing little of importance to record, except the continued decay of Turkey and the steady aggression of Russia, enveloping her prey like a giant octopus. Such an advance must be indeed impressive in the strength displayed by the conqueror. But to our modern age the cruelty of the attack, the falsity to each solemnly proffered pledge, the horrible murder of women and children, the slaughter of thousands upon thousands of helpless men driven into battle merely to gorge their leaders' lust for territory—these horrors infinitely outweigh the "glory" that was gained.

The Crimea was taken possession of by Russia in 1783. In 1787, Catharine entered into an alliance with Austria which deliberately planned a division of the Ottoman Empire similar to that previously begun in Poland. The troops of the allies advanced suddenly, Austria, as in her last previous attack, pretending to peace, until her troops were ready and actually on Turkish ground. Nevertheless they were beaten back, and along the Austrian frontier the Turks for two years held their own, until the turmoils consequent on the French Revolution compelled Austria to seek peace.

Against Russia the Turks were less successful. They were repeatedly defeated and became hopelessly disorganized, so that the mighty Empress fancied she saw Constantinople already in her grasp. England and Prussia interfered. The huge Muscovite power began to terrify them, and from this time forward England, at least, assumed the role which she has since maintained, of Turkey's protector. Catharine moderated her demands. She was given some further provinces along the north coast of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus. Affairs both in Poland and in France compelled the attention of Europe; the great French Revolution had begun; and the annihilation of Turkey was again postponed to a more convenient opportunity.

A MOMENT OF VICTORY

(Bairactar Repulses the Russian Advance)

From a painting by the Russian artist, F. Roubaud

WHILE Servia and other provinces were revolting against their rulers' tyranny, Russia attacked the Turkish Empire from without. Fortunately for the Turks there arose among them at this moment a really able and patriotic chieftain, the general Bairactar. He succeeded in infusing into his disorderly troops something of his own fire, and he completely repulsed the over-confident Russians, sending them fleeing from the country.

Immediately afterward (1808) Bairactar had to face an even more dangerous situation. The Janizaries at Constantinople had in their usual disorderly fashion refused to march to join him in the war and deposed the Sultan, Selim. Bairactar, fresh from his unexpected triumph over the Russians, returned suddenly to Constantinople, and attacked and defeated the Janizaries. But he was too late to save Selim, who had been assassinated. So Bairactar raised to the throne another member of the sacred royal race, Mahmud II. Unfortunately Bairactar was too open-hearted to cope with the treachery which now honeycombed Constantinople. The defeated Janizaries pretended submission, and then, turning suddenly upon the patriotic general, slew him. They would have deposed Mahmud also, but he was the only surviving member of the royal house, and Turkish religious sentiment would not submit to any ruler not descended from Osman.

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Battle of Navarino

Chapter IX

REFORMS OF SELIM III AND MAHMUD II

[*Authorities:* As before, also Paton, "History of the Egyptian Revolution"; Marmont, "State of the Turkish Empire"; Howe, "Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution"; Latimer, "Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century"; Diplomatic Papers of Metternich.]

THE disintegration and panic of the Turks before the resistless advance of the armies of Catharine II, marked the lowest ebb to which the Ottoman Empire had yet descended. Even in our own day and despite its recent losses, Turkey is stronger than it then seemed to be.

In 1787 the intervention of England and Prussia appeared useless to preserve the Turkish domain for more than a moment. The death of Catharine when she was planning another and final attack, gave it further respite. Then the Titanic struggles of Napoleon drew all eyes away from the Osmanli and so altered ancient enmities that we find Russia and Turkey for a moment in alliance. France defeats a Turkish army in Egypt, English forces aid the Ottomans in an heroic defense of Acre against the French, and most amazing of all, an English fleet threatens Constantinople and is forced to escape from the Hellespont, suffering some loss from Turkish batteries.

All these kaleidoscopic changes were, however, only temporary. The Napoleonic madness passed; and the disruption of the Ottoman Empire would inevitably have been resumed, had not the Turks themselves undertaken internal reform. Two Sultans, Selim III and Mahmud II, were really awake to the needs of their country, and understood its desperate condition. By their vigorous

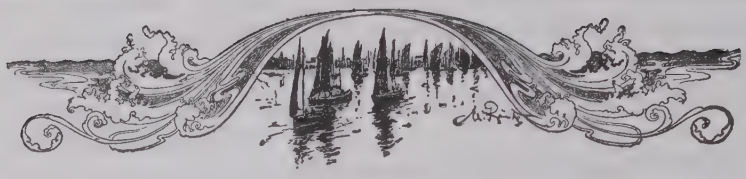
efforts they saved it from what seemed the very throes of dissolution. The first of these, Selim III (1789–1808), was girded with the sword of Osman during the Russian war. He saw its hopelessness, and after securing peace began the reorganization of his dominions. Schools were instituted that the dense ignorance of the Turks might be overcome, and with it their disastrous contempt for everything Christian or progressive. At the same time, Selim made an effort to introduce the European system of discipline among his soldiers; but at this the Janizaries rebelled and compelled its abandonment.

Selim saw that he had no real power over his empire. Not only did the Janizaries force him to do their pleasure, but each Pasha of a distant province acted as an independent ruler and treated with contempt the orders of the Porte. The Barbary States had long yielded the Sultan only a nominal allegiance. But now Egypt under its great Pasha, Mehemet Ali, showed equal independence. So did the Syrian governor, and the rulers of Bosnia and the other Balkan States. Except in some districts in the heart of Asia Minor, the Sultan could find nowhere any subjects who offered him real obedience. He began operations in Servia. The Janizaries there had completely cast off their allegiance and were plundering the inhabitants, Mahometan as well as Christian. Selim summoned the people to defend themselves, encouraging to resistance even the despised *rayahs* or Christians. These, under their peasant leader "Black George," overthrew the Janizaries, but naturally refused submission to the Mahometan governors who were then sent to rule them.

The fanatic Moslems cried out against their Sultan; he was deserting them, they said, abandoning their faith and ancient laws and upholding even their rayahs against them. The Turkish troops everywhere revolted. Leaders who remained loyal to the Sultan were defeated and slain. In Constantinople the Janizaries once more went through the ceremony of overturning their camp kettles—thereby declaring that they would accept no more food from the reigning Sultan—and marched against the palace. Selim submitted to the inevitable and abdicated. His cousin was proclaimed Sultan as Mustapha IV. Anarchy had again triumphed. The Janizaries were king.

But through it all, one of Selim's lieutenants remained loyal. He was General, or Pasha, Bairactar, who was defending the line of the Danube against Russia. The Russian war with France relieved Bairactar of his opponents, and he promptly marched his troops to Constantinople. Defeating the Janizaries in a pitched battle in the streets, he demanded the surrender of the palace and the restoration of Selim.

Then ensued the last of those too common scenes of turmoil and horror within the walls of the seraglio. Sultan Mustapha bade his servants hold the gates against the invaders, while he hastily ordered the execution of Selim and also of his own



THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

(The Surrender of Varna in 1828)

From a painting by the Austrian artist, W. Weigle

MAHMUD II sought, as his predecessor Selim had done, to free his kingdom from the tyranny of the Janizaries. He at last succeeded by a treachery equal to their own. In the year 1826 he managed to surround the homes of the Janizaries with other troops and cannon, attacked them suddenly, set their houses and barracks on fire and slew them to the last man. Mahmud then tried to organize a new army of his own. But before he could recruit the strength of his weakened forces, war burst upon him from every quarter. Servia had, as we have seen, been long in rebellion. So had Albania. Greece also began fighting for freedom, and all Europe came to the aid of Greece. The Turkish navy was destroyed by the European powers; and when Mahmud still fought on, desperate though hopeless, a Russian army marched into his domains.

Following down the shore of the Black Sea, the Russians besieged the chief Turkish defense of the north, the fortress city of Varna. It was almost empty of troops and surrendered after little more than a nominal resistance. Then the Russians seized the sacred Turkish city of Adrianople, which had not seen a foreign enemy for four hundred years. Sultan Mahmud abandoned the struggle in despair and threw himself upon the mercy of Europe. From that time the Turkish government has been "the sick man of Europe," continuing to exist only by the grudging consent of the stronger nations.

younger brother Mahmud, the only other surviving member of the royal house. Were these two dead, Mustapha knew he would himself be safe. No Turk would venture on the total extinction of the race of Osman. Selim defended himself desperately, the cries of his rescuers without, ringing in his ears. But he was finally overcome and strangled, and his body was thrust out to Bairactar as proof of the impossibility of restoring him to power. The infuriated general continued for vengeance the assault which he had begun for loyalty.

Mustapha's other victim, Mahmud, escaped the slaves sent to destroy him. He hid in the furnace of a bath and while the murderers were still hunting for him, Bairactar's soldiers burst in the gates and proclaimed him Sultan.

Mahmud II (1808–1839) had been the companion of Selim in the royal *kawah* or cage, where they were held by Mustapha. There the deposed Selim, the ruler who had failed in his reforms, imparted to this untried cousin, this recluse from birth, the story of his own reign, his struggles, and his defeat by the power of the Janizaries. Hence Mahmud II was in a way a reincarnation of Selim, possessed of his views and aims. Mahmud had also the support of his rescuer, Bairactar, and for some months reform progressed rapidly. Then the Janizaries, who had pretended submission to Bairactar, suddenly attacked his troops. He had unwisely dismissed most of them from the city; the remainder proved insufficient for his protection. His fortress home was stormed. Its tower citadel in which he took refuge, was blown up; and Sultan Mahmud was forced in his turn to become the servant of the triumphant Janizaries. He was only saved from deposition and death by the fact that he had slain their former creature, Sultan Mustapha, and was thus the only remaining member of his race.

In this extremity Mahmud showed himself subtle as well as resolute. He affected submission to the old order of things. At the command of his tumultuous masters, he proclaimed the recent innovations and all other Christian customs to be accursed. Each reform was solemnly repudiated.

We must regard Turkey at this period as merely a set of Mahometan provinces, each virtually independent of the others and making little pretense of obedience to any central authority. Servia continued in rebellion and could not be suppressed, though the Turkish Pasha of Bosnia warred against it on his own account, hoping to add Servia to his government. The Pasha of Egypt made war upon the Mamelukes and showed his nominal master at Constantinople an example not afterward forgotten, by coaxing these formidable soldiers into a trap and there massacring them all (1811). The Pasha of Albania had long been accustomed to make treaties with the Europeans quite as an independent monarch, and in 1820 he embarked in open war against Constantinople. Encouraged by his successes, the Greeks also rose and began their war of independence.

The Albanian Pasha, "the old lion of Jannina," was overthrown, as much through

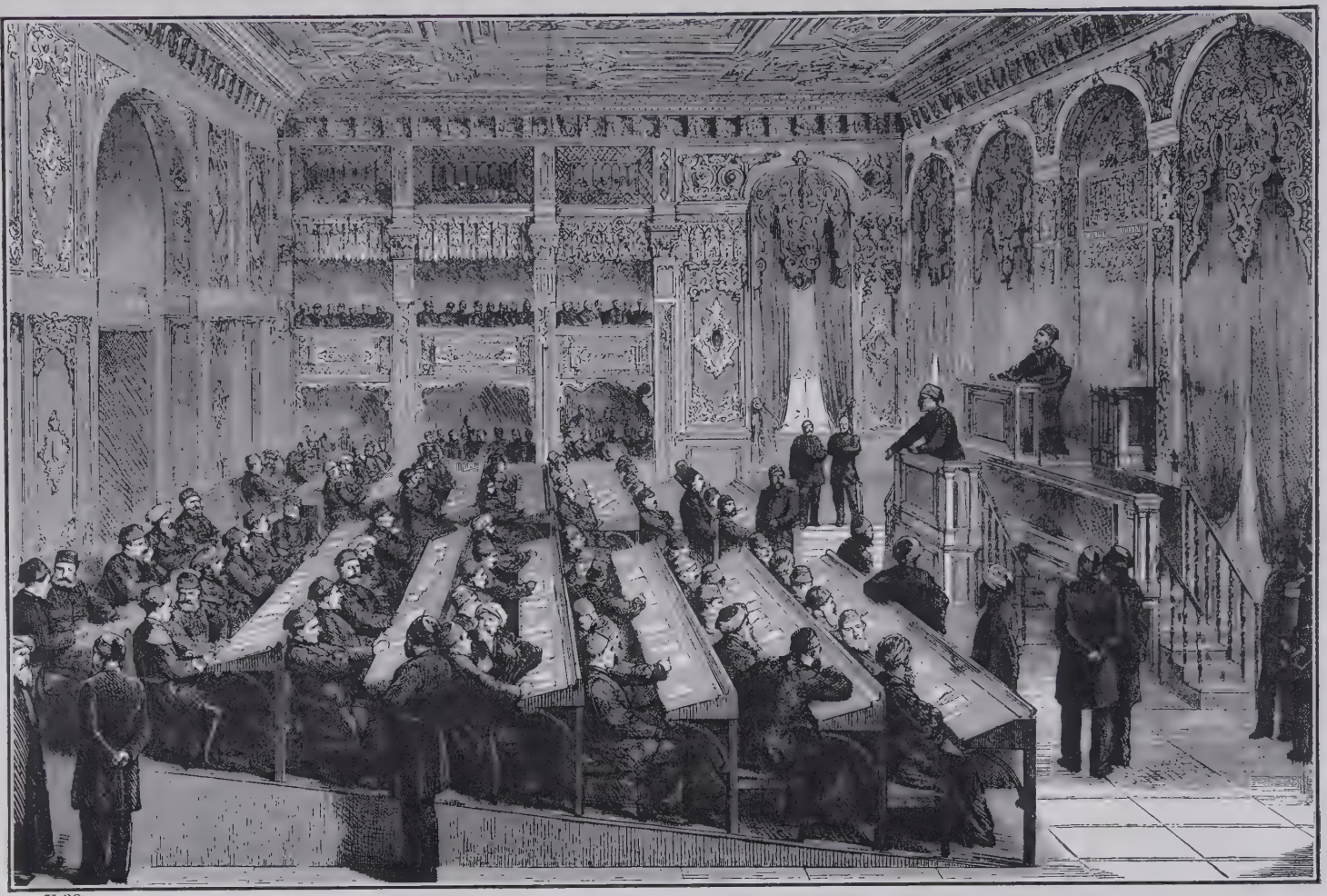
TURKEY ESTABLISHES A PARLIAMENT

(Sultan Abdul Hamid Seeks to Pacify Europe by Creating a Parliament)

From a sketch made at the time

UNDER the tutelage of the western powers, the Turkish rulers made a pretense of modernizing their government. In reality, the secret purpose of more than one of the Sultans of this time was to get rid of all his Christian subjects, who were becoming more and more rebellious. They were to be exterminated by massacre. Finally in 1876, one Sultan lent his aid so openly to this slaughter that the European powers drove him from the throne and raised another Osmanli to be Sultan as Abdul Hamid II.

Abdul reigned for over thirty years. His first step in the world of Turkish artifice was to proclaim that his people were going to become just like other Europeans, that all his subjects were equal, whether Christians or Mahometans, and were to govern themselves by means of a parliament. So this first Turkish parliament met at Constantinople in 1876. It was an utter farce; and when the Powers still continued to insist on protecting the Christians under Turkish rule, Abdul Hamid promptly dismissed his toy parliament and defied Europe. The war of 1877-8 followed. In this, the other Powers authorized Russia to act for them, and she completely defeated the Turks, just as she had done fifty years before. Then Europe once more saved Turkey from being swallowed by Russia. Representatives of all the Powers gathered in the noted "Berlin Conference" and arranged to make Turkey's Christian provinces practically independent.



Coronation of Abdul Hamid

Chapter X

THE RECENT GENERATIONS

THE career of Turkey since western Europe took charge of the "sick man" as her ward, has been a course of slow disintegration. Sultan Mahmud was succeeded by his son Abdul Mejid (1839-1861), a quiet, dreamy Oriental who consented to be "modernized" by his western advisers. He wore Parisian clothes, and talked of government reform, and tried to keep his fanatical subjects from murdering Christians. Really, however, he and his country changed not at all in spirit. He borrowed large sums from Europe, nominally for government improvements, and spent them on the pleasures of a most gorgeous court. Meanwhile the Christians of the Balkan regions continued to be abused, until in 1853 Russia declared her intention of rescuing them by force.

This led to the celebrated "Crimean War." It began by a Russian naval attack which destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. Then the Powers intervened to protect their obedient ward. Since Russia refused to abandon her attack, England, France and several lesser states came to Turkey's aid. Russia was defeated in a giant struggle, in which Turkey herself took little part, leaving all her defense to the French and English, once these had reached her shores.

Abdul Mejid was succeeded by his son Abdul Aziz (1861-1876), a ruler of wholly different type. Abdul Aziz was a Moslem fanatic, who chafed

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

(The Gathering to Settle the Balkan Problem after the War of 1878)

From the well-known portrait painting in Berlin by Anton von Werner

THE Berlin Conference was the first great international meeting in which all the European powers met to settle their differences by a general pacific agreement. The noted statesmen who gathered for it are here pictured.

1. Baron Haymerle
2. Count Caroly
3. Count Lunay
4. Prince Gortschakoff
5. Mr. Waddington
6. Lord Beaconsfield
7. Herr von Radowitz
8. Prince Hohenlohe.
9. Count Corti
10. Count Mouy
11. Count St. Vallier
12. M. Desprez
13. Baron Oubril
14. Count Andrassy
15. Lothar Bucher
16. Prince Bismarck
17. Herr von Holstein
18. Dr. Busch
19. Count Herbert Bismarck
20. Count Schuwaloff
21. Sadullah Bey
22. Lord Odo Russell
23. Herr von Bülow
24. Lord Salisbury
25. Karatheodore Pasha
26. Mehemed Ali Pasha

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some mighty machine it simply rolled over the crushed and humiliated Greeks, until Europe interfered to save them from destruction.

This easy triumph over Greece somewhat restored Turkish prestige abroad. At home it opened the eyes of the Turks themselves to the fact that Europe was right. They must really adopt European ideas and civilization if they were to continue to exist. A genuine party of reform sprang up among them, known as the Young Turks. These, after a decade of preparation, engineered in 1908 an almost bloodless revolution. On July 22 a body of troops under Major Niazi Bey revolted and demanded a parliament. Other troops everywhere joined the movement and the helpless Sultan accepted the situation. On July 24 he issued an "Irade" proclaiming parliamentary government to be his dearest wish. His old pestilent advisers were swept out of office; a few of them were murdered by the delighted populace; and on December 10 the parliament gathered and took actual charge of the government.

Difficulties, however, faced the Young Turks from the start. Both Austria and Bulgaria seized the moment of revolution to snatch territory which was nominally Turkish. Some of the subject races of the empire, both in Asia and Europe, showed symptoms of revolt. The treacherous Sultan thought the opportunity favorable to reassert his power. Suddenly, in 1909, he accomplished a *coup d'etat,* declaring the parliamentary government a failure and himself once more supreme. The Young Turks were taken by surprise; for a few days the old régime was re-established. But the progressive leaders gathered their forces, and in a revolutionary spirit even more determined than before, marched against Constantinople. Some of the Sultan's troops withstood them; there was desperate fighting in Constantinpole's streets; but the Young Turks were completely victorious. They compelled the treacherous Abdul Hamid to resign the throne, and they proclaimed his son, Mahomet V, as Sultan in his stead (May 10, 1909).

This internal reform of Turkey came too late to save the remnant of her European dominions. In 1910 and again in the two following years there were formidable revolts in Albania, which all the force of the Turkish armies proved scarcely able to suppress. In 1911 there arose also a revolt in Yemen, the extreme southern part of Arabia. These Arabs defied the Turkish power, despite its modern equipment, and held its army at bay for almost a year.

Then in 1911 came the Italian War. Italy had long desired colonial expansion. Now, seeing how utterly helpless were the Turks in the midst of their domestic troubles, Italy suddenly exaggerated a trifling quarrel in north Africa into a cause for war, and seized possession of Turkey's last African possessions in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The Italians opened the war by sinking three Turkish torpedo boats off Prevesa. This was to prevent the Turkish

TURKEY'S LAST SUCCESSFUL WAR

(Turkish Troops Marching Into Greece in 1897)

From a drawing on the spot by Otto Gerlach

FOR twenty years after the Berlin Conference had stripped Turkey of half her European territory, the Sultan Abdul Hamid remained a sullen, secretly plotting ruler. He kept peace because he knew he must. He had learned his lesson. But he gradually strengthened his army and prepared for more slaughters of Christians within his remaining provinces. War arose again in 1897. This time little Greece started the turmoil. Her subjects had long been eager to rescue their remaining compatriots who still suffered under Turkish rule. At length they forced their king to declare war. The shrewd Sultan placed himself under the direction of the Powers; and these, having done everything possible to restrain the excited Greeks, felt compelled to permit Turkey to defend herself.

Instantly the Sultan's armies sprang forward with a vigor of action and excellence of discipline that astonished Europe. Here was no despicable force! The soldiers, stirred to their ancient religious enthusiasm, charged bravely forward shouting "Allah! Allah!" They swept back the Greek army like crumpled paper; and then, with rare self-restraint, when the Powers stretched forth interposing hands, the Turks stopped. They surrendered their conquests and peace was made.

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was assigned the chief task of the capture of Adrianople, which lay just beyond her borders, and then the advance on Constantinople itself. Greece, which had a navy, was to destroy the remnant of a navy which Italy had left to Turkey, and was thus to make it difficult for the Turks to bring reinforcements from Asia. Meanwhile both Greece and Servia, by attacking the Turkish armies already gathered in Albania and Macedonia, were to prevent these from going to the aid of Constantinople.

All these plans worked out admirably. The Greeks seized possession of the waters, while their soldiers fought their way successfully onward through Macedonia burning to retrieve their defeat of fifteen years before. The Servians pressed southward over what had been Servian territory ages before. They defeated a Turkish army in a severe two days' battle at Kumanovo (October 23) and recaptured their own ancient capital of Uskub. Meanwhile the Bulgarians had also achieved their larger task. Furious with the hatred of centuries they rushed across their border, shut a Turkish army up in Adrianople and drove the relieving forces back in two tremendous battles, that of Kirk Kilisse (October 23), and then that of Lule Burgas, a terrible three days' fight (October 28-30), in which the Bulgarian peasant soldiers sacrificed themselves by thousands in reckless charges of frenzied desperation. The Turks were swept back to their last series of defenses, the Chatalja lines, within sight of Constantinople. Three weeks of rapid and stupendous fighting had changed the fact of the Balkans forever; and on November 13 Turkey begged for peace, ready to yield to the allies all that they had conquered.

The peace negotiations began at once in London; but it was soon made manifest that the allies intended to demand much more than the Turkish government would or indeed could yield without facing a rebellion at home. So the war reopened in February of 1913. Greece indeed had refused to stop fighting with the others and had gone on seizing one by one the unprotected islands still held under Turkish authority. With the renewed outburst of hostilities the Greek troops also resumed their advance and succeeded in capturing Janina, the Turkish stronghold in the west, and compelling the surrender of all the Turkish forces there. Servia, having already mastered the central region, lent her aid to Montenegro in the west to besiege and capture the Albanian capital Scutari, and also joined the Bulgarians to the eastward in the siege of Adrianople. This celebrated city surrendered after a brave defense (March 26, 1913), and only Constantinople itself was left in Turkish hands.

Now again the Turks cried for peace, and this time they left everything in the hands of the European Powers, promising to consent to whatever these decided on. The Turks even yielded on the point which touched them most

bitterly of all; Adrianople, their sacred city, once their capital, was to become Bulgarian. The treaty to this effect was actually signed in May, 1913, but it was never carried out in its full details; for even before its signing the victorious allies had begun quarrelling among themselves. The Bulgarians, who had borne the chief weight of the fighting, insisted on the lion's share of the spoils. Even during the war Bulgarian troops had clashed in real battle against both Greeks and Servians for the possession of conquered cities. Now the disagreement flashed into actual war.

Greece and Servia arrayed themselves against Bulgaria. Another state also entered the strife. This was Roumania which, seeing Bulgaria so expanding, demanded an increase of territory for herself to balance the Bulgarian growth. Thus Bulgaria, reaching for the leadership of the whole Balkan peninsula, found herself suddenly confronted by all the other states. She had over-estimated her strength. Her armies, already exhausted by their tremendous efforts against Turkey, were no match for the combined forces of their foes. Bulgaria was completely defeated. Soon the Roumanian army stood at the gate of her capital, Sofia, just as she herself had before threatened Constantinople. Even Turkey took advantage of Bulgaria's downfall. Hastily regathering her troops, she repudiated her treaty of peace and recaptured Adrianople. That much at least, which meant so much to her, she recovered from the wreck.

Bulgaria, helpless, threw herself on the mercy of Europe and the allies, and a general peace was arranged for all around (August 6, 1913). By this the Balkan peninsula took on the political shape which it now holds, and seems likely to retain until in another generation the exhausted Bulgarians shall regain their strength, and perhaps give desperate expression to the sullen fury with which they have perforce submitted to defeat.

As for Turkey, the recovery of Adrianople has saved the prestige of the reformers, the Young Turks. They have thus gained a renewed lease of power. Turkey itself has become once more what it was originally, a purely Asiatic power. Its rule over Africa has disappeared, and its province in Europe is now a mere outpost of its empire. In Asia, too, the respect of the other Moslems for the dominant race of Turks has received a severe blow. Not only have the Arabs begun rebellion; Syria and Armenia are also demanding Autonomy. Parliamentary Turkey is thus forcing serious problems. It began work upon them in 1914 by starting to reconstruct a navy, purchasing ships abroad and placing control of the navy in British hands. Perhaps the reawakened Turks may yet justify their dominion over their Asiatic subjects.

ABDUL HAMID'S DOWNFALL

Guarding the Aged Sultan From Poison During the Young Turks' Revolution)

From a painting by P. Frenzeny

OUR own generation has seen another act in this slow-moving drama of the Turk's expulsion from Europe. The "Young Turks" started a real revolution within their country. They tried to do in the closing days of Abdul Hamid what he had pretended to do thirty years before, establish a parliamentary government. They rose in revolt and forced the Sultan to agree to a constitution.

Abdul had grown suspicious of all the world. He thought everyone as treacherous as himself, and dwelt in his old age in deep seclusion within his palace. He feared poison, and even the eating of his meals was made an elaborate system, each dish being tasted by an official "taster" and then sealed and brought to the Sultan in that fashion and unsealed in his presence.

Yet the rebellion brought about his death, for after pretending to accept the Young Turks' demands, he plotted a counter-revolution. There was desperate fighting in Constantinople streets. Again the Young Turks gained the upper hand; and this time they refused to accept the false promises of the aged Sultan. They deposed him, and shortly afterward he was reported dead. A new sovereign, Mahomet V, was proclaimed Sultan of a new and really modernized Turkey (1909).

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

A.D. 1250(?)—Ertoghrul rescues the Sultan of Iconium. 1260—Ertoghrul made ruler of Sultan-Œni. 1288—Ertoghrul succeeded by his son Osman. 1301(?)—Osman had the public prayers said in his name. 1307—Osman cast off the last remnant of vassalage to Iconium. 1318—The Turks besieged Brusa. 1326—Surrender of Brusa. 1327(?)—Death of Osman, and generous rivalry of his sons Orchan and Aladdin. 1330—Capture of Nicæa. 1336—Karasi added to the Osmanli domains; which extended over all north-western Asia Minor. 1356—Solyman led the Turks across the Hellespont; earthquakes facilitated the capture of Gallipoli. 1360—Murad I conquered Adrianople and most of the Roman Empire of the East. 1364—Turkish victory over the Servians at the Marizza. 1387—Decisive defeat of the Caramanians at Iconium. 1389—Murad crushed the Servians at Kossova; Bajazet Ilderim annexed Servia. 1396—Crusade and Christian defeat at Nicopolis. 1402—Timur overthrew Bajazet in the huge battle of Angora. 1403-13—Civil war among the sons of Bajazet, ended by the triumph of Mahomet I. 1442—Victories of Hunyadi at Hermanstadt and Vasag. 1443—Revolt of Scanderbeg. 1444—Abdication of Murad II; his return to the throne, and defeat of the Hungarians at Varna. 1451—Murad defeated Hunyadi at Kossova. 1453—Final siege and capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. 1456—Mahomet repulsed by Hunyadi at Belgrade. 1460—Greece occupied by the Turks. 1475—Kaffa, the Genoese metropolis of the Crimea, captured. 1480—The Turks seize Otranto in Italy. 1481—Civil wars of Bajazet II and his brother Djem. 1512—Bajazet II forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Selim the Destroyer. 1513—Massacre of the Shiites. 1514—Selim overthrows the Persians at Calderan. 1516—He adds Syria to his domains by the victory of Aleppo. 1517—The Mamelukes defeated at Ridania, and Egypt conquered; Selim becomes Caliph of the Mahometans. 1521—Solyman the Magnificent captures Belgrade. 1522—Knights of St. John driven from the Isle of Rhodes. 1526—Destruction of the Hungarians at Mohacs. 1529—Solyman ravages Austria and besieges Vienna. 1533—Truce between Solyman and Europe. 1538—Naval victory of Barbarossa off Prevesa. 1547—Most of Hungary surrendered to Solyman; Ferdinand of Austria pays him tribute. 1566—Solyman dies before the fortress of Szigeth, and Selim the Sot begins the decadence of the royal house. 1569—First encounter of Turks and Russians. 1571—Capture of Cyprus; the sea-fight of Lepanto. 1589—Great revolt of the Janizaries; frightful interval of disorder. 1590—The cession of Georgia by the Persians expands the Turkish Empire to its widest extent. 1594—Uprising of the

Christian tributary states, "the Wallachian Vespers." **1596**—Mahomet III overthrows the Christian armies at Cerestes; the last great Turkish victory. **1622**—Osman II murdered by the Janizaries. **1636**—Murad IV recaptures Baghdad. **1664**—Defeat at St. Gotthard. **1673**—Victories of Sobieski at Khoczim and (**1675**) Lemberg. **1683**—Kara Mustapha driven back from Vienna; European coalition against the Turks. **1687**—Turkish defeat at Mohacs. **1699**—Peace of Carlowitz, by which Turkey loses Hungary, etc. **1711**—Victory over Peter the Great. **1717**—Second defeat at Belgrade. **1787**—England and Prussia rescue Turkey from the Russians. **1808**—Selim III attempts reform and is overthrown by the Janizaries. **1820**—The Albanians and then the Greeks revolt. **1826**—Mahmud II exterminates the Janizaries. **1827**—Battle of Navarino. **1828**—Russian war establishes the independence of Greece. **1839**—War with Egypt; Turkey rescued by the Western Powers submits to their tutelage. **1853**—Russian aggression leads to the Crimean War. **1861**—Turkish reaction under Abdul Aziz. **1875**—National bankruptcy; the Balkan rebellion. **1877**—Russia chastises the Turks again; freedom of the Balkan States. **1897**—Græco-Turkish War. **1908**—Rebellion of the Young Turks; establishment of constitutional government (July 24); Austria and Bulgaria seize Turkish provinces. **1909**—Abdul Hamid again snatches the government; brief war of revolution; deposition of Abdul, and coronation of Mahomet V. **1910**—Revolt in Albania. **1911**—Revolt in Yemen; war with Italy begun (Sept. 29); Italy proclaims the annexation of Tripoli (Nov. 5). **1912**—Italy seizes Turkish islands; peace treaty signed (Oct. 15); Montenegro declares war (Oct. 8); the Balkan allies declare war (Oct. 17); Turks defeated at Kumanovo and Kirk Kilisse (Oct. 23); at Lule Burgas (Oct. 28-30); Salonica captured (Nov. 8); peace negotiations begun. **1913**—War with the Balkan allies renewed; Turks surrender Janina (March 5) and Adrianople (March 26); peace treaty signed (May 31); Balkan states fight among themselves and Turkey regains Adrianople. **1914**—Turkey begins her rehabiltation by placing the rebuilding of her navy in British hands.

RULERS OF THE OSMANLI

A. D. Emirs	Sultans	Sultans
1288—Osman.	1520—Solyman I.	1703—Achmet III.
1328—Orkhan.	1566—Selim II.	1730—Mahmud I.
1359—Murad I.	1574—Murad III.	1754—Osman III.
	1594—Mahomet III.	1757—Mustapha III.
Sultans	1603—Achmet I.	1773—Abdul-Hamid.
	1617—Mustapha I.	1789—Selim III.
1389—Bajazet I.	1617—Osman II.	1807—Mustapha IV.
1403—*Interregnum.*	1623—Murad IV.	1808—Mahmud II.
1413—Mahomet I.	1640—Ibrahim I.	1839—Abdul-Mejid.
1421—Murad II.	1648—Mahomet IV.	1861—Abdul-Aziz.
1451—Mahomet II.	1687—Solyman II.	1876—Murad V.
1481—Bajazet II.	1691—Achmet II.	1876—Abdul-Hamid II.
1512—Selim I.	1695—Mustapha II.	1909—Mahomet V.

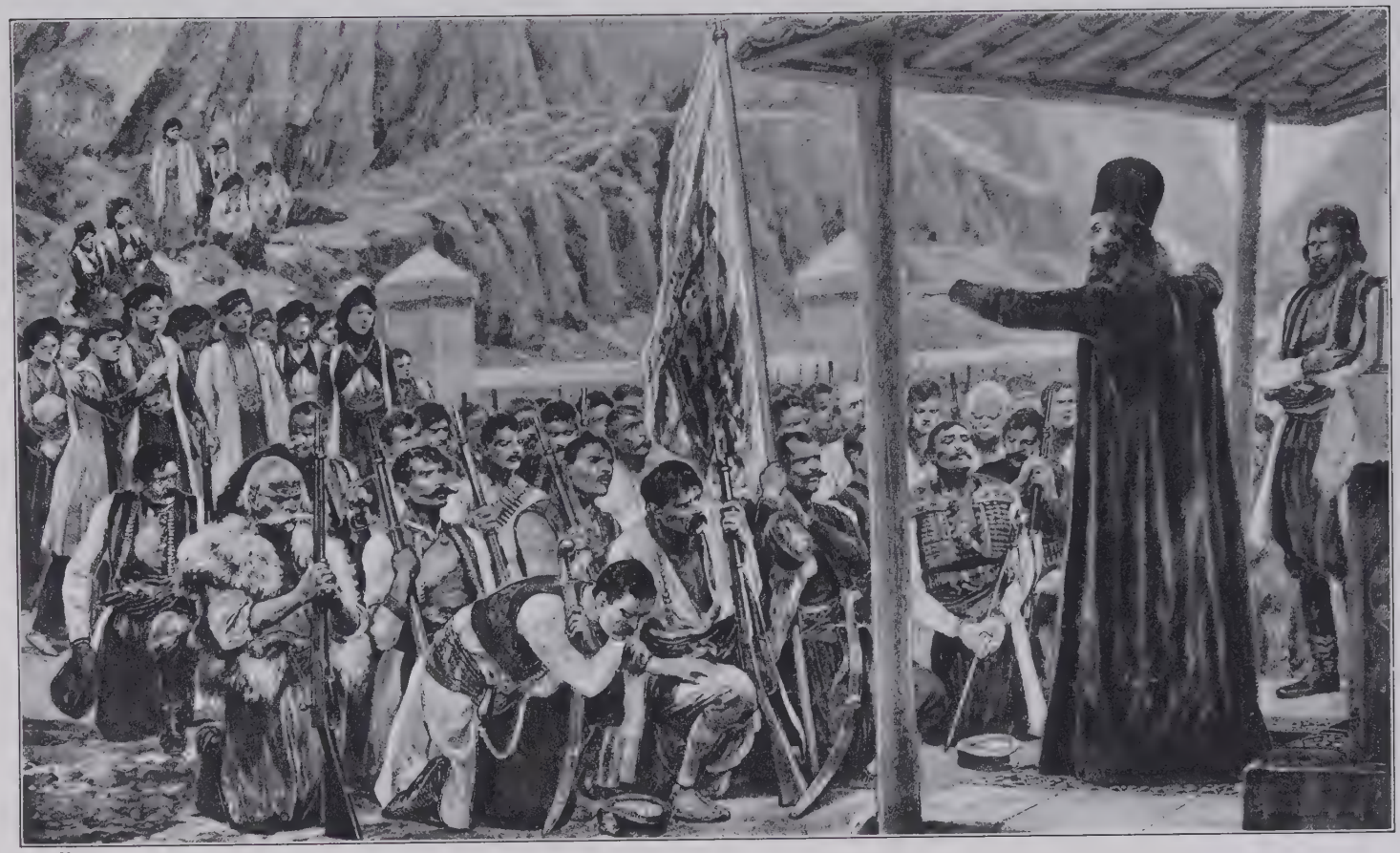
THE OPENING OF THE BALKAN WAR

((The Montenegrin Army Blessed by Its Priests Before Starting For the War)

By the contemporary English artist, R. Caton Woodville

FEW political events have ever taken the Powers of Europe so completely by surprise as did the outbreak of the Balkan states in 1912. Turkish outrages upon the Christian people still subject to them in Europe, had been so long continued without retribution, the little independent Balkan states had seemed so obedient to the Powers' command about maintaining peace, that it seemed as though the Turkish Empire in Europe might still last for generations. Then suddenly in October of 1912 the King of Montenegro declared he would no longer allow the massacre of his countrymen across the Turkish border; and he sent his troops to war. To the Montenegrins it was a holy war. The army included every man who could march forth. Their priests blessed them, and they set out with religious ceremonials, vowing to free their countrymen or perish.

Secretly the Montenegrin king had already arranged his alliances with the neighboring states of Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece. These states now also declared war, and defeated Turkey completely. They seized for themselves practically all her European possessions. The Bulgarians even conquered Adrianople and pressed forward to the siege of Constantinople. Then at last the allies fell to quarreling over the division of the spoil, and Turkey, raising her despairing head, managed to recapture Adrianople. So at least she still holds a fragment of her European territory. Practically, however, she has become once more a merely Asiatic power.



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PREHISTORIC RELICS IN SWEDEN

THE STORY OF THE GREATEST NATIONS

MODERN NATIONS—SCANDINAVIA

Chapter I

THE LEGENDARY DAYS OF ODIN

[*Authorities—General:* Geijer, "History of the Swedes"; Sinding, "History of Scandinavia"; Pufendorf, "Complete History of Sweden"; Boyesen, "History of Norway"; Dunham, "Denmark, Sweden and Norway"; Cronholm, "A History of Sweden"; Crichton and Wheaton, "Scandinavia"; Mallet, "History of Denmark"; Otte, "Scandinavian History." *Special:* Snorre Sturleson, "Heimskringla," "The Elder Edda"; "The Younger Edda"; Wheaton, "History of the Northmen"; Anderson, "Norse Mythology"; Mallet, "Northern Antiquities"; Nilsson, "Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia"; Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden in Ancient Times"; Worsaae, "Pre-history of the North."]

SCANDINAVIA is a name employed to-day to include all the peninsulas and islands of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Politically these regions are now divided into three separate countries, but they are occupied by a people of the same race; and as all Scandinavia has gone through much the same history and been frequently under the reign of the same sovereign, its story is often told as that of a single land.

The Scandinavians first became known to the more civilized south-world between the fourth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, when they grew to be the masters of the ocean, daring sea-robbers, pirates, who suddenly appeared and disappeared along the southern seacoasts like flashes of the destroying angel's wrath, leaving death and desolation behind. Huge fair-haired vikings they were, with winged helmets,

round shields, and coats of linked mail; giants of unequalled strength and unmeasured daring, about whom romance loves to cling.

Writers of the Southland called them vaguely and rather indiscriminately Northmen, though sometimes catching their more local names, as Danes or Jutes or Angeln. In their own books the Northmen speak of themselves as all one race though scattered over many districts, occupying in fact what they regarded as one of the three great divisions of the earth. They separated the world into Asia, the vague, far-off, populous mother-land; Europe, the warm and wealthy Southland; and "Greater Sweden," the world of snow and ice, in which they included not only Scandinavia, but northern Russia, and sometimes Great Britain with all its surrounding islands extending even to Iceland and the faint half-mythical region beyond.

So it is the story of the Northland we have here to tell. This in its way is perhaps older than any other European tale. In Scandinavia we find no sudden, sharp break of a new-coming race driving out the old. The inhabitants to-day are apparently the descendants of those who dwelt there in the very earliest epoch that we can trace. The evidence of Scandinavian grave-mounds and other prehistoric relics seems to be that, without change of race, the land has seen a steady development extending back through the iron age and the bronze age to that far-off age of stone when men were of closest kin to the beasts and met them in not unequal warfare. The many Northern legends that deal with dragons are probably not inventions, but vague recollections of those monstrous crawling lizards which science now assures us once dwelt on earth.

Indeed, scientific students are to-day discussing a new theory which points to the dismal shores of the Baltic Sea as being the original home of the whole mighty Aryan race, from which some of their tribes wandered off to Asia at an epoch too distant to be dated. The travellers retained always a vague recollection of, perhaps even a communication with, their earlier home, and after many centuries began back toward it that clearer movement of the Aryans, in which coming from the East they peopled Greece and Italy, Gaul and Germany.

Both philology and archæology offer arguments in favor of this theory, but its strongest evidence to the unscientific mind lies rather in the character of the ancient Northmen themselves. It is from such men and from long ages in such a land, that we would expect the Aryan characteristics to develop. Fairness of color, huge size and strength of limb, slowness in maturing, combined with length of life, steady endurance and calm, shrewd alertness in the face of danger, the joy of strife yet with a touch of kindness toward all feebler life, these are the traits of the Aryan as balanced against the Semite or Turanian, and these were in their fullest measure the traits of the Scandinavian. They are the qualities of the semi-arctic North with its long, hard winters and the brief, sweet respite of its summer months.

SCANDINAVIA

(The Cradle of European Life)

Prepared specially for the present series by Austin Smith

SCANDINAVIA is a general name given to the ancient Northland of Europe, the chill countries surrounding the broad and shallow Baltic Sea. To-day the eastern part of this region is all subject to Russia; the south coast of the Baltic has become German; and of the string of islands in the north Atlantic, only Iceland and Greenland still remain under Scandinavian control. The three countries, however, which have always been the heart of this region, continue to survive as independent kingdoms, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. No one of these three is very powerful to-day; but at one time or another in the past, each of them has held a commanding position in European history.

A glance at the map will show how closely the three kingdoms are connected. Their people have been sailors, sea-rovers, since the earliest dawn of our knowledge of them. So that their narrow, island-crowded straits and seas have not divided but united them. They have often been held by a single ruler and their history is so closely interwoven, their people are so alike, that really they are one nation rather than three. Norway has always been what the map shows it, a single narrow strip of mountainous Atlantic coast line, deeply indented with rockbound fiords. Denmark is a region of many sea-washed islands, low and sandy. Sweden has a mountainous highland of Dalecarlia sweeping down into broad lake-covered plains, a land almost as much enwrapped in water as the Danish islands.

ARCTIC OCEAN
NORTH CAPE
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
KJOLEN MTS.
NORDLAND
BOTHNIA
FINLAND
Trondheim
DALECARLIA
GULF OF BOTHNIA
KARELIA
Bergen
Helsingfors
St. Petersburg
Narva
Christiania
SVEALAND
Upsala
ALAND Is.
Frederikshald
STAVANGER FJORD
BOHUS BAY
Stockholm
ESTHONIA
INGERMANLAND
LIVONIA
GOTHLAND
WISBY
GOTHLAND
Riga
NORTH SEA
Copenhagen
Kalmar
OLAND I.
COURLAND
JUTLAND
SCANIA
Lund
BALTIC SEA
BORNHOLM I.
The Danework
Idstedt
HOLSTEIN
RUGEN I.
Lubeck
Hamburg
Stralsund
OMSBURG
Danzig
POLAND
Colberg
Bremen
Elbe R.
POMERANIA
Vistula R.
Weser R.
Oder R.
FRIESLAND
SAXONY
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200

From the legends of Scandinavia we can, however, gather no clear trace of any such southward movement and return. Their earliest tale is of Odin and the Asa-folk. So confused a figure is Odin, treated sometimes as a god, sometimes as a man, that it is not easy to draw any definite historic outline of him—unless we accept the suggestion that there were two Odins, the early god and a later man who assumed the name. The man Odin, says the Yngling saga, came from the south, perhaps Asia, with his people the Asa-folk, and settled in central Sweden. Here he met an already existing race of Gotas or Goths and after many a trial of strength and wisdom with their king Gytha, Odin and his followers settled amicably in the land. The two races united and they, or Odin's more immediate followers, became known as Svea-folk or Swedes.

Another race was also encountered by Odin. These were the ancestors of the Lapps and Finns, and are represented in the sagas as being physically feeble but dealers in treachery and magic. Elsewhere however, they are called Jotuns or giants and declared to be the original owners of the land. Against them Odin warred successfully and drove them into the farthest north. He became not only a conqueror but an all-wise teacher, the inventor of *runes* or written words, and the founder of a priesthood with its chief temple at Upsala (the high halls), which is still the centre of Swedish learning. Hence our very earliest record of the North is of Sweden and of its division into three districts which exist there to-day, Gothland, Svealand, and Nordland, the region of the wandering Lapps.

Odin died and his body was doubtless placed in his favorite war-boat, which was set afire and with sail full spread to the blast, bore him off alone across the stormy waters of the Baltic. Such were the obsequies of many a later chief, and the legend soon grew up among the followers of Odin that he was not dead, but had only left them for a time to visit his kindred in the Asa-land. He was deified by his people, or perhaps there had been a previous deity of the name whom the adventurer had dared impersonate. Odin is the same as Woden, the one-eyed, the chief god of all the Teutonic races. Friga, the goddess of peace, is his wife, and possibly represents a northern princess, by marrying whom King Odin secured peace and lands for himself and followers.

Yet more dimly ancient in the Scandinavian mythology, perhaps supplanted by the newer gods, was Thor, the war-spirit, the thunderer. There was also Ægir, god of the sea, with his dread wife Ran, the storm-goddess. She and her servants, the waves, hate and seek to destroy all men who dare invade their realm; but Ægir, the friend of man, guides him across the fiercest waters to wealth and glory. To these early Scandinavians all nature was alive around them, and it is probable that the mass of Teutonic legends about Woden, Baldur the sun god, and the others, originated in the far North. The more famous of these myths have been already told in our story of the Germans.

After the death of Odin or his return to Asa-land, his descendants, known as the Ynglings from his grandson Yngve, ruled over the Swedes. Gradually their power decreased, or their people grew too numerous and too widely scattered over the almost impassable wilds to submit to a single local ruler. Scandinavia became the seat of dozens of little settlements, each with its own *sma-king* or small king whose rule amounted to no more than that of a leader voluntarily followed in time of trouble.

Against the raids of these sma-kings the Yngling rulers or high priests had often to defend themselves by strength of arm. Any divinity that may have hedged them in the early days, disappeared with the centuries; and the last of the Ynglings, Ingiald Illrada (ill-ruler), was finally destroyed and his family driven from Upsala by a coalition of these petty chiefs. The high halls of the Yngling settlement continued to be distinguished above others only by a vague religious rank.

The tale of Ingiald's expulsion lies on the vague borderland betwixt myth and legend. On his father's death Ingiald invited to a feast all the chiefs of the nearer districts. According to custom, he sat humbly at their feet, not assuming the royal seat and rank until his father's funeral should be ended. Then rising among his guests to make the customary "funeral vow," Ingiald vowed to do away with all "sma-kings" whatsoever and to rule alone over the Swedes as his ancestors had done. In fulfillment of this pious oath, he immediately burned the house above the heads of his assembled victims. Then with fire and sword he marched against such other lords as he could reach.

Among the slain was the king of Scania, or Scandinavia, a name then restricted to the extreme southern part of modern Sweden. This king's son, Ivar Widfadme, gathered a small but infuriated army of his subjects, and with grim purpose started on the long march northward. His force increased like a snowball as it swept onward over the desolate and devastated lands; and when at last the avengers reached the high halls of Upsala, their strength had grown to be irresistible. Ingiald saw that his doom had come. The hall which he had burned above his rivals, had been replaced by a new and more gorgeous dwelling. With his own hand he now set fire to this; and surrounded by his faithful followers, holding in his arms the daughter who had aided him in all his plots, he perished in his turn amid the flames (A. D. 623).

Young Ivar was thus the first to supplant the Ynglings and drive them wholly from their vague remnant of overlordship in the north. He was the chief ruler in Scania and perhaps the island and peninsula beyond it, the land now known as Denmark; so that the tale seems to preserve some first vague triumph of the southern regions over the northern. Ivar is reckoned the first great king of Denmark, and is said to have ruled not only over all Scandinavia, but over the Saxons and Northumbrians.

THE STONE AGE IN SWEDEN

(Scandinavians of Many Ages Ago and the Monsters of Their Time)

From a painting by the German artist, Fritz P. Schmidt

QUITE recently men of science have dug up among the highlands of Sweden relics which show us not only that men existed there many ages ago, but also that there has been a continuous development through all the ages. That is, the Swedes and Norwegians of to-day are directly descended from those of the Stone Age. In other European countries we know that one set of wandering invaders after another have superseded the earlier inhabitants. In general these invaders have come from the east, from the direction of Asia. None of them, however, ever penetrated the icy north or crossed the savage waters of the Baltic to invade Sweden. There the original inhabitants developed undisturbed. The man of the Stone Age is the man of to-day. Indeed many scientists now incline to believe that it was these Scandinavians who first ventured forth from their cheerless homes and wandered southward, perhaps over part of Asia, and then turned westward to become the ancestors of most of the races of southern Europe.

In the wild days of the earliest Scandinavians, man was still a savage. He may have faced and fought against the animal monsters of an earlier geological epoch. We find in Sweden relics of huge and terrible extinct animals, great lizards such as our picture shows, cold-blooded, sluggish beasts whom northern legend has remembered as dragons, supposing that they must have fire within to keep them alive amid the awful cold.

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Sweyn Forkbeard

Chapter II

THE VIKING AGE AND CANUTE THE GREAT

[*Special Authorities:* Carlyle, "Early Kings of Norway"; Adam of Bremen, "Historia Ecclesiastica"; Du Chaillu, "The Viking Age"; Keary, "The Vikings in Western Christendom"; "Saxon Chronicle"; Sidgwick, "Story of Norway"; Storm, "Pages of Early Danish History."]

AFTER Ivar Widfadme, we enter on the second period of Scandinavian story. The purely mythical age gives place to one dimly historic, of which several sagas and other records exist, though their chronology is confused and contradictory, each tale, as is natural, magnifying its local hero.

Of the home life of the Northmen of this time we know but little, though they were probably quite as civilized in their way as any of the kindred tribes to the south of them, even the half-Romanized Franks. In seamanship the Northmen acquired a skill and daring truly remarkable. Odin, inventor or introducer of so many customs, was perhaps the first to teach his people that attacks by sea were far more easy and effective than toilsome marches and assaults by land. The myths ascribe to him a magic boat in which he and his men could be carried anywhere. Doubtless this means that they appeared suddenly and unheralded along the little fjords, to the consternation of their enemies.

The generations that followed Odin became shipbuilders, and, after harrying one another's homesteads and learning all the seamanship they might along the Baltic shores, they sailed through the channels to the great ocean without, and dared its wrath. Their settlements spread up the Norwegian coast; their ships

ventured over to Scotland and even to Ireland beyond. They also began the conquest of England and plundered the shores of France.

A century or so after Ivar's time, the Northmen had become so numerous at home that they seemed like a flood pouring out to overflow the earth. Most of what we know of their exploits comes from the monkish chroniclers of the lands they ravaged; and it is but natural that to their terrified victims these fierce pagan marauders should have appeared everything that was savage, merciless and fiendish in the form of men. In truth, however, they seem to have compared most favorably with other conquerors. Each land that submitted to their sway quickly became prosperous and progressive, and assumed for a time the intellectual leadership of the European world. Their chief conquests were of England, Normandy, and southern Italy. But we hear also of their dominion over Russia and their assaults upon Paris and Orleans. Their ships ravaged the Mediterranean, and even Constantinople yielded to their arms.

This remarkable outpouring of warriors from the North continued through more than six hundred years, from the beginning of the fifth century or even earlier, down to about 1100 A. D. Moreover during all this period there were repeated bloody wars between rival kings at home. Such prodigal expenditure of life could not continue forever, and there came a time when the Northland collapsed with weakness and exhaustion. Its sons had been given to the world, and the once populous coasts of Scandinavia sank back into an almost deserted wilderness.

The various expeditions of this period belong to the history of the lands in which the conquerors settled. The strife between the kings at home presents only a wearisome sameness of bloodshed, over which we need not linger. Ivar was succeeded in all his dominions by his grandson Harald Hildetand, who is a positive and impressive historical figure, and who, coming to the throne a mere lad, ruled for the almost incredible period of four-score and eight years (647–735). He extended the vague empire he had received, by further conquests in the East and South, and he put down his turbulent vassals or sma-kings with an iron hand.

Harald's death is the theme of the great epic war-song of the North, the Scandinavian "Siege of Troy." In his extreme old age the celebrated chieftain was possessed of the true Norse desire to die in battle; for only those thus slain were borne at once to Odin's banquet-hall in Valhalla. To die peaceably in bed was well-nigh a disgrace. Yet looking forth over the Northern world, Harald could see no king remaining who might oppose him in war. He therefore deliberately raised a quarrel with his nephew, Sigurd Ring, his regent over Norway.

Sigurd, driven to defiance, gathered his fleets and advanced southward against Denmark. With him came every sma-king who in all the long years of Harald's reign had formed a grievance, every earl whom the monarch's savagery had ever offended. Their ships covered the ocean; the saga sings of their twenty-five

ODIN'S DEATH VOYAGE

(The Body of Odin, Scandinavia's First Hero, Given to Fire and Sea)

From an old anonymous print

GRADUALLY in this far dim northland there grew up a whole series of legends, myths telling of deeds ascribed to the gods. Probably these gods were originally kings in the land and the stories had a basis on fact. But what was real and what imaginary, who the kings were, or who the gods, we can no longer tell. We can only accept the legends as we find them.

They make as their chief god and hero, Odin or Woden, whom we have already met as the chief German god. But in German story he is wholly a god, a creator of men. In Scandinavian story he is still chiefly a man, a king ruling only his own people and dying among them. According to this legend, Odin, king of the Asa folk, led his followers from the mainland into central Sweden, fought the sturdy Goths of Gotland in southern Sweden, and the treacherous cunning Lapps of Nordland, and united all three under his rule, making a threefold kingdom such as exists in Sweden to-day. Then Odin taught his people all wisdom, and built for them the "high halls" or Up-sala which became their chief shrine of faith and learning. When he died his body was seated in his favorite war-ship, surrounded by his chief treasures, and was launched upon the waters of the Baltic. Fire was set to the ship and it sailed flaming out of sight across the stormy waves bearing its glorious burden. Some day, says legend, Odin is to come back and once more lead his people.

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hundred sail. The invaders landed in Scania, mooring their fleet at the mouth of the River Braa. Harald hearing this, eagerly marshalled his army, and met the enemy in the battle of Bravalla, the most terrific combat of the North.

Here the god Odin appeared for the last time among men. Mounting into Harald's chariot, he urged the horses of the aged king into the midst of the foe. Harald, recognizing his charioteer, besought him for this one more glorious victory; but Odin pointed out that young Sigurd had too well learned the art of war and had ranged his men in that irresistible wedge shape by which Harald had himself won all his battles. At this the aged king grew desperate. Dashing madly amidst the foe, he slew all who opposed him, dealing his great blows with resistless power. No man could stand against him, until at length Odin, to stay the interminable slaughter, raised his own weapon and smote Harald down. Then Sigurd, lamenting that such a hero must die, built a vast burial-mound, burned his uncle's body with high honors, and succeeded him in his domains. The lordship of all Scandinavia thus passed from Denmark to the Norwegians (735).

The next ruler over the North—dates remain vague and events uncertain—was Sigurd's son, Ragnar Lodbrok (leather-breeches), of whom also the sagas have many deeds to tell. His odd surname was earned in youth, in the days of wooing. There was a maiden so famed for beauty that her father, to protect her and guard his home, filled its fore-court with hissing poison-snakes. No man dared approach, and the maiden languished. But Ragnar, seeing her fair face, wrapped leather thongs around his legs, and so day after day strode unharmed amid the adders, winning for himself a bride and a name.

Like his father, and indeed all his race, Ragnar thought far less of welding and governing the turbulent world of which he was called the ruler, than he did of proving his own individual prowess. He wandered forth on many a wild viking cruise. Finally, sailing away with only two ships, he was wrecked on the English or perhaps the Irish coast, and his forces were overpowered by those of Ælla, the king who reigned there. Ragnar, refusing to reveal himself, was cast into a pit of snakes and died of their bites, chanting a wild Norse death-song which is still preserved.

"There will be grim doings here," said Ragnar, "when the young cubs learn what has happened to the old bear."

When his sons feasting in Norway heard the tale, they sped at once to Ælla's land and took fierce vengeance upon him and all his people. They made a "spread-eagle" of him, as the cruel torture was called, hewing his ribs from the backbone one by one. Then these sons divided the domains of Ragnar among themselves, and thus the North was once more headless, its forces scattered among many petty rulers.

Another period of confusion follows. There was a king in Denmark, perhaps

a grandson of Ragnar, who quarrelled with Charlemagne. This appears to have been the first time that it dawned upon the Northmen that there was, somewhere in the Southland, a power so organized and concentrated as to be mightier than their own. Even then it was the distance and the wilderness that restrained them from assault rather than the troops of Charlemagne. Gottrik, a Danish or Jutish king, attempted to surprise and capture the Emperor in his capital at Aachen. The effort failed, but the Frankish ruler made peace with the Danes as equals. No demand was made of them, as of the nearer tribes, that they should adopt Christianity, the symbol of alliance and submission to the Franks. Important as it must have seemed to all the Southland that these wild, pagan ravagers should learn the softer faith, Charlemagne lacked the power to compel them to accept it.

Christianity first penetrated into Scandinavia during the time of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious. In the monkish chronicles, under the year 826, the entry is made with much detail and elaboration, how Harald Klak, a king in Jutland, having been expelled from his possessions, came with his wife and all his followers sailing in a hundred ships to the court of Louis at Ingelheim. Doubtless his purpose was to seek aid, for he adopted Christianity and was baptized with gorgeous ceremony. Then he returned to Jutland accompanied by many Franks, and temporarily reconquered some portion of his kingdom.

In Harald's train a number of Christian priests entered Jutland, headed by Anskar or Anscarius, "the Apostle of the North." A year or two later Harald was again driven from his throne and sank into permanent exile as duke of a Frankish province conferred on him by the pious Emperor. At this second expulsion of their protector, the priests fled also; but Anskar, their chief, soon accepted an invitation to return to Scandinavia under humbler auspices.

Some Swedish merchant sailors who had adopted the new faith, offered to convey him to their own distant capital. On the voyage they were attacked by pirates and lost most of their possessions. They were shipwrecked also, and only after sore experience of the dangers of the sea did the devoted teacher reach his destination. There the Swedish king, Bjorn, consented to the expounding of the new doctrines, and finally became himself a convert. But on Bjorn's death the old animosity against Christianity blazed up again, and once more Anskar had to flee for his life. On the whole he spent nigh forty years in the Northland with little permanent result. A rougher hand than his was needed for the mastering of this rugged race.

Meanwhile, the hundred little Scandinavian kingdoms were assuming more definite outlines, becoming reduced in number, and fixed into the three established States which we know to-day. Sweden had continued as a single united kingdom from the days of Ragnar Lodbrok, and she still traces back her succession

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of sovereigns to that wild viking in unbroken if not wholly reliable records of descent. In Norway, apparently grown by this time the most populous and powerful region of the North, there appeared another conqueror. This was Harald Haarfagr, or Harald the Fair-haired, said to be sprung from the stock of the ancient Yngling rulers of Upsala. Harald was sma-king over a little Norwegian district when in early youth he sent to ask the hand of Gyda, a neighboring princess. She returned word that she would wed him when he was a real king, like Eric of Sweden or Gorm of the Danes. Harald's counsellors regarded this as an insult and urged him to seize the maid by force; but the youthful warrior accepted the answer in another light, declared that Gyda was right and vowed never to cut nor comb his hair until he had reasserted his ancient birthright and become lord over all of Norway.

Then followed battles and surprises and innumerable stratagems of statecraft through all of which Harald fought and plotted onward toward his goal. Finally in 875 there was a last, celebrated sea-fight in Hafurs (now Stavanger) Fjord, in which all the little kings and earls who still dared oppose Harald were completely overthrown. Having accomplished his vow, the victor cut the long, matted yellow hair which had given him his title "Fair-hair," and wedded the beautiful Gyda who had waited for him so long. The romance of the tale is a little injured, however, by the fact that the hero had in the interval married another woman, and Gyda was only his second or lesser wife.

This union of Norway under Harald caused great changes in the land. He did away completely with the old system of sma-kings, and established his own adherents as earls or *jarls* over the various districts. He enforced the laws, some old, some of his own proclamation, against duelling and robbery. He even—and this was felt by his people as the most unreasonable and unjust of his oppressions—forbade the viking raids upon other districts. If these time-honored enjoyments were to be given up, most Norwegians of noble birth felt that existence would be no longer a pleasure. They disobeyed the king openly, and when he proceeded to punish them, they left the land in great numbers.

This, the most noted exodus of all those by which the North was depleted of its strength, took place about the years 874 and 885. At the later date the gigantic Rollo or Rolf the Ganger (goer or walker) was exiled, and going "a-viking" into France, conquered Normandy and became its duke. In 874, Iceland was settled by other exiles, who preferred the harshness of its climate to the severities of King Harald. Ireland also was colonized. Norway, half depopulated, became a land almost without an hereditary nobility, a land of peasants who ruled their king perhaps as much as he ruled them.

When Harald had grown old, he divided his kingdom among his sons (933), and there was more civil war extending over generations. At last one of the few

remaining nobles, Earl Hakon or Hakon Jarl, drove all the surviving descendants of Harald from the country, and assumed the throne himself. After many years his tyranny roused the peasants to revolt, and he had just hidden himself with a single servant in a secret den beneath a pigstye, when Olaf Trygvesson, the last of the house of Harald, appeared unexpectedly upon the scene.

Olaf was another of Norway's noted kings. He had already gained fame as a viking, had been in Italy, ravaged England, joined the Danish prince, Sweyn, in taking toll of London, and even, according to legend, had wedded an English princess. Olaf, having determined to reassert his right to his ancestors' domain and coming so opportunely upon the assembled peasants, received by acclamation the crown for which he had meant to fight.

Through all the ceremony Jarl Hakon listened from the pigstye, not daring to make the slightest sound lest he be discovered, afraid even to sleep lest his companion betray him. It is one of the grim pictures of Norwegian history, those two men crouching there through all the long day and longer night, each suspicious, neither daring to attack the other, because of the noise and discovery and death that would follow. The servant repeatedly assured his master of his loyalty, and at last Hakon was exhausted and slept. Then the thrall killed him and came out to Olaf with the severed head for his reward. Olaf slew the wretch for his faithlessness.

Olaf Trygvesson, through his descent from Harald Haarfagr, came from the ancient stock of the Ynglings, the priest kings of Upsala. He was the last of his race, and, like Odin its originator, Olaf also became the founder of a new religion in the North. Somewhere in his wild viking life he had become a Christian—though the conversion does not seem to have produced much of the expected softening effect. He was sincere, however, at least to the extent of being determined to Christianize Norway at whatever cost. Another king had made such an attempt, and perished. Olaf was more successful. For five years he and his followers traversed the land attending the assemblies or *things* of the peasants, smiting down their images of Thor with his great battle-axe, and convincing them in this rough fashion of the helplessness of their gods. More than once he and his men had to do battle for their lives. But in the end Norway was Christianized and Olaf stood forth a shining conqueror, the mightiest monarch of the North, holding his people firmly as no other could.

His arrogance, rising with his fortunes, brought him to disaster. He proposed marriage to the dowager queen of Sweden but stipulated that she should turn Christian. When she refused, he struck her in the face and repudiated her with scorning. So Sweden was roused against him. Then he insisted on marrying the sister of his old comrade Sweyn, the Danish king, though the union was against Sweyn's wishes. Worse still according to the Norse view, Olaf quarrelled with

THE LAST OF THE YNGLINGS

(King Ingiald and His Daughter Slain by the Vengeance of Ivar)

From a painting by Alexander Liezen-Mayers

ODIN'S descendants ruled as kings in Sweden down to the days of the seventh century after Christ. At that time there ruled in Upsala, Ingiald Illrada, or ill-ruler, known as the last of the "Ynglings," which was the name given to the kings descended from Odin. Ingiald's ancestors had lost most of their authority over Sweden. Ingiald won it all back by a savage massacre of all the lesser rulers. He invited them to a feast and then burned them to death in his hall at Upsala. After that he ravaged their territory.

Among the chieftains thus treacherously slain was the king of Scania or Scandinavia, a name then applied only to the province in the extreme south of Sweden. This king had a son, Ivar Widfadme, who vowed to avenge him. Ivar gathered about him all the infuriated folk whom Ingiald's murders and ravages had roused to desperation. With this terrible army, young Ivar attacked Upsala and again burned the great hall there. But this time the occupants who were burned within it were King Ingiald and his wicked daughter who had inspired and guided her father in his bloodthirsty career. Then Ivar became king in place of the slaughtered tyrant.

With Ivar begins the genuine history of Scandinavia, as opposed to the merely legendary remembrance of the Yngling kings.

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the Jomsburg vikings, a terrible horde who had banded together in a stronghold on the south shore of the Baltic, and were become strong as a kingdom. All these forces allied themselves with certain discontented earls of Olaf's who clung secretly to their heathen faith. Olaf, betrayed and caught unexpectedly among the fleets of his foemen, fought at the head of a few faithful ships, the last great sea-fight of Norse history. With his own "long dragon" he attacked the Swedes and Danes and put them to flight. But his exhausted forces were then set upon by their own countrymen and by the Jomsbergers. In the end Olaf, seeing all his followers stricken down and finding that his dulled sword could no longer bite, raised his glistening shield above him and leaped overboard. He was seen no more of men, but his countrymen long cherished a belief that he would some day return and lead them again to victory.

The supremacy of the North, thus lost to Norway, was again assumed by Denmark. Here, about a century before Olaf's time, Gorm the Old had suppressed the last of the scattered sma-kings and built up a strong and wealthy kingdom. Gorm was one of the leaders of the immense viking horde that besieged Paris in 884. He had wedded Thyra, "the ornament of Denmark," daughter or perhaps other relative of that Harald Klak who had vainly attempted to introduce Christianity into Jutland. Gorm proved a bitter foe to his wife's faith, harried it out of Denmark and made many a viking raid against its home-lands to the southward.

The Saxons had been compelled by Charlemagne to accept the new faith; Gorm, marching his wild warriors into their land, attempted to force its return to the ancient pagan worship. This ill-advised bit of proselyting brought him into conflict with another great Emperor, Henry the Fowler, who defeated the Danish monarch and compelled him to permit the preaching of Christianity even in Denmark itself.

Meanwhile the wiser and kindlier Thyra was attempting to make life happier and milder among the Danes at home. While Gorm thought of attack, she thought of defense. During one of Gorm's viking absences, Thyra finding the land left almost defenseless, gathered her counsellors and proposed the building of a huge protective wall, extending across the base of the Danish peninsula. The people set to work with enthusiasm and erected the "Dane-work," seventy feet high, the remains of which may still be seen traversing Schleswig from sea to sea. Even the stubborn Gorm approved her efforts and became lenient to her faith. Thyra's seems to have been the first truly softening influence upon the North.

Massive as was the Dane-work, it could not long hold back the tide of the fast-rising German power. In the reign of Gorm's son Harald Bluetooth, the Emperor Otto II defeated the Danes, demolished their wall and, marching his forces the whole length of their peninsula, hurled his spear into the straits beyond, as an emblem of sovereignty over the farthest seas. He compelled Bluetooth to accept

Christianity, thus rousing against that unfortunate king a rebellion headed by his own son Sweyn Forkbeard.

Bluetooth was slain (985), and Sweyn ascending to the throne became in his turn a noted conqueror. Of his victory over Olaf Trygvesson, we have already heard, and it would seem he must have played a better part in the great sea-fight than the Norse sagas will allow, for he was thereafter the acknowledged overlord of Norway as well as Denmark. England too was added to his domain. There had been some vague English conquest under Gorm, probably little more than a harrying followed by the usual payment of ransom money and a possible agreement to continue a regular tribute, which however was never collected. Sweyn in his early days found this sufficient pretext for a raid upon the "rebellious province," and had joined Olaf Trygvesson, in their oft-told attack on London.

Afterward, Sweyn being overbusy with his quarrels at home, the English king, unhappy Æthelred the Unready, by a sudden plot had all the Danes in England slain (1002). This brought Sweyn back to the land bent on vengeance and more lasting conquest. A man of rather modern type was this Sweyn, politic and seeking power rather than mere personal renown as fighter and killer. For twelve years he remained in England, fully accepted as its king, and on his death in 1014, he was succeeded there as well as in Denmark and Norway by his son Canute, or Knut, the Great.

Canute was but a lad, and he had to prove himself in many battles before he made good his claim to all his father's lands. English history speaks largely of him, for England was his favorite habitation, and he sent Englishmen to teach their arts and learning to the Danes. His people boasted that he was lord of six kingdoms, for in addition to Denmark and England he was overlord of both Norway and Sweden, and ruled Scotland, and also Cumberland, the home of the ancient Britons or Welsh. Canute unquestionably was a very remarkable man, not only as a warrior but as a lawgiver and lover of the kindlier side of life. Most important of all, he became converted to Christianity; and under his vigorous direction and command the faith was at last permanently established throughout Denmark and southern Norway.

In the remoter regions of the North the ancient Odin-worship still struggled to reassert itself against the milder faith of the "white Christ." Men swore devotion to one or the other God, as they would have sworn to follow an earthly sovereign. Norse legend abounds with tales similar to that of the outlaw Grettir, who in 1015 appeared suddenly at Trondheim and slew the Christian priests and worshippers before their altar.

When Canute died (1035), the power of Denmark faded. Two of his sons ruled England, but they failed to uphold their position as lords of Scandinavia. The entire region began to feel the effects of the interminable bloodshed. The

RAGNAR SEEKS ADVENTURES

(The Young King Ravages England's Coast in a Single Ship)

After a painting by the German artist, H. Prell

IN the early days it seems clear that Sweden was the chief seat of Scandinavian power. Slowly, however, her sea-wanderers spread themselves abroad over Norway and Denmark. They penetrated Russia also and became kings there. They conquered northern Britain and much of Ireland. A typical viking of the times was Ragnar Lodbrok. His father had led the men of Norway in a great fight against those of Sweden and Denmark and had won the lordship of all the north. Ragnar succeeded to all the power of his father; but he cared nothing for this honor or its attendant duties. Instead of staying at home to govern his people and consolidate his power, Ragnar went off upon one viking cruise after another. He explored the coasts of England and Ireland. Sometimes he took many ships with him, sometimes he went almost alone. Always he came back loaded with plunder, rejoicing in the fierce fighting he had done.

At length in his old age there was one expedition from which he did not return. He was wrecked somewhere on the British Isles, with only two tiny ships of followers. His little band were overcome by the king of the region; and Ragnar was cast into a pit of snakes and died of their bites, defying his foes and chanting to the last the song of his own many victories. His people avenged his death most savagely. They praised him as a great hero, and never dreamed of blaming him for neglecting his kingdom.

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civil wars were still intermingled with wild viking raids, but these were the final and exhaustive efforts of the North. Harald of Norway sought to reconquer England, and was slain by the Saxon king Harold at Stamford Bridge (1066). In the same year the Norman descendants of Rolf the Ganger did what the other Norwegians had failed in—they conquered Saxon England at Hastings. Robert Guiscard made himself lord of Sicily. Sigurd, a later king of Norway, headed a crusade. Each of these expeditions left the Northland emptier than before. In 1069, Sweyn of Denmark, a nephew of Canute the Great, sent a fleet of two hundred and forty sail against England, to compel the homage and submission which its new ruler, William of Normandy, seems to have half promised him. The fleet was ignominiously defeated, and only a fragment of it escaped to Denmark. The survivors found Scandinavia almost a desert; the teeming population had expatriated itself at last. Moreover the feeble remnant who still clung to their ancient hearths were learning a milder creed, and began of their own accord to prefer a milder life. The viking days were over.

The Last Cruise of Ragnar Lodbrok

SETTING OUT OF THE ESTHONIAN CRUSADE

Chapter III

POWER OF DENMARK UNDER THE THREE WALDEMARS

[*Special Authorities:* Allen, "History of Denmark"; Chronicle of Arnold of Lubeck; Schaefer "The Hanseatic League and King Waldemar"; Munch, "History of the Norsemen"; Saxo Grammaticus, "Danish History" (translated by O. Elton, London).]

THE decadence of the power of Scandinavia may be reckoned from the death of Canute the Great, founder of Christianity in the North. Within a generation after came the two unsuccessful attempts of the Norse Harald and Danish Sweyn to reconquer England; and then for more than a century there is no Northland triumph to record, no great effort even, but only darkness, suffering, and decay.

Sweden, the most remote and least civilized of the three countries, drifted back almost if not wholly into paganism. Norway was swept by repeated civil wars. It was only in Denmark that events occurred of sufficient note to enter into our narrative. Denmark, so recently the most powerful state of the North, became for a time the weakest and the most desolate of all. The primal cause of this downfall was, of course, the depopulation of the land. But a second and none the less notable cause lay, not in Christianity itself, but in the evils which followed in its train.

As the communication between the North, especially Denmark, and the rest of Europe became closer, the whole social system of the more southern lands began to impress itself upon Scandinavia. European society was founded upon feudalism; and feudalism maintained the power of the noble, the helplessness

THYRA, "THE ORNAMENT OF DENMARK"

(Queen Thyra Rouses Her People to Build a Huge Wall of Defense)

Drawn from an ancient Danish print

AS the power of these men of the north spread southward, they came naturally into conflict with the Germans and Frenchmen. These had been joined in one great empire by Charlemagne. But even the mighty Charlemagne could not stop the ravages of the northmen, who appeared suddenly on his coasts with their tiny ships, plundering, and were gone long before he could march an army against them. The successors of Charlemagne began to take up the conflict seriously and sought to follow the northmen back to their frozen homes in the land of cold. The main figure in this struggle of the north to hold back the south was Gorm the Old, a king of Denmark. Gorm fought the advancing Germans in many battles; but slowly they pressed him back, and for the first time the northmen found themselves engaged in defensive warfare.

Gorm's queen was Thyra, a brave and most able woman. While her husband and all his warriors were away, Thyra encouraged the old men and the women who were left at home to build an enormous defensive wall. This remarkable structure, known as the "Danework," was erected about the year 900. It stretched from sea to sea across the base of the Danish peninsula shutting it off from Germany. Some traces of this huge Danework still remain.

of the peasant. Now the Northland peasants were not helpless, they were the strength of the land; and when the Danish kings began taxing them, the Danish lords insulting them, and foreign-born bishops, strangers to the land, began exacting a heavy church tithe, whether a man wished to offer it or no—when these evils fell upon the peasants, they revolted. There was constant tumult. Kings were elected and deposed, imprisoned and murdered along with lesser men; provinces separated from the central state; there were years when the soil and its crops were utterly neglected. Famine became so widespread that one of the Danish kings was known as Olaf "Hunger." Hunger was king.

The reign of that grim monarch undermined the resistance of the peasantry as no other could. Moreover, when the Northmen themselves abandoned pirating as a livelihood, it was taken up by those who had been their pupils, the still uncivilized heathen races to the east of the Baltic, especially the Wends. These pagan freebooters ravaged Scandinavia even as the Scandinavians had ravaged France and England. The Northmen in their period of weakness suffered all that they had once inflicted upon others. Especially was this true of Denmark, the most southern and most civilized of the regions. Its long stretches of marshy coast lay waste and uninhabited. No man dared dwell there, within reach of the plunderers. All fled to the heart of the country or entrenched themselves in the fortified seacoast towns.

So grew up the cities, the havens. Denmark, be it remembered, still included at this time not only its present peninsula of Jutland and the surrounding islands, but also Scania, or what is now the southern point of Sweden. Indeed, the Danish capital itself had been at Lund in Scania. But Lund now began to decay and the coast havens to become populous in its place, especially Copenhaven (*kopjes havn*), the merchants' haven, afterward the capital.

The first gleam of light across the darkness came in the times of Waldemar I, the Great, one of the three noteworthy Waldemars who held the Danish throne. Under this monarch's reign (1157–1182) opened the third and final period of Denmark's greatness. The first had been under Ivar Widfadme and his descendants through Ragnar Lodbrok. The second extended from the reign of Gorm the Old to that of Sweyn Forkbeard and Canute the Great, ruler of six kingdoms. The third began with Waldemar the Great.

Before coming to the throne, Waldemar had established himself as the favorite of the nation. Although a member of the royal house at a period when each of its descendants was fighting to seize the crown, Waldemar made no effort to gain the prize for himself, but strove only to end the civil war and ameliorate the miserable condition of the exhausted people. By so doing he became while still a youth the most trusted and best loved man in Denmark. One of the contestants for the throne sought the aid of the great German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa,

and accepted Denmark from him as a fief of the Empire. Another, carrying subservience still further, assumed the German costume and German manners. At length it was agreed, with Barbarossa's consent, that Denmark should be divided into three parts and shared among those two unworthy rivals and Waldemar.

The people consented joyously to this arrangement. It might mean the downfall of Denmark, but it promised at least peace. Evil ambition however, was not yet content. Even at the feast held in celebration of the agreement of peace, the king whose castle had been chosen for the festivities, attempted the assassination of his two rivals. One fell, but the other, Waldemar, defended himself valiantly, and holding his assailants in check, escaped from the castle in heroic style.

The civil war recommenced. But now Waldemar claimed for himself the sovereignty of the entire nation, and soon drew all the people to his side. His murderous foe was defeated and slain. Waldemar, to escape an exhaustive foreign war, acknowledged himself and his kingdom subject to the German Emperor. Then he set to work to restore prosperity to his desolate and almost deserted land.

Waldemar is noted as a lawmaker. The body of laws authorized if not actually composed by him, long remained the basis of Danish government. The provisions are simple and direct, such laws as every man could understand, and all honest men would wish to follow.

In his own day, however, Waldemar was most noted as the conqueror of the pagan Wends. Determined to rescue his country from their piracy, he built strongholds along all the island channels, and in each fortress placed a band of seamen with ships ready to sally out against any suspicious boat that passed. Most important of these forts, with the town that sprang up around it, was Copenhaven, then called Axelborg from Axel Hvide, the fosterbrother and most trusted servant of the king. Axel, better known to later generations as Bishop Absalon, made his burgh famous throughout the North by the ever-increasing line of pirate heads which rotted on the summit of its walls.

Waldemar and his warlike bishop brother led in all more than twenty expeditions against the Wends, several of the attacks rising to the length and importance of regular campaigns. Finally the pirates were besieged in their huge and apparently impregnable citadel, Arkona, on the island of Rugen. Raised high on a precipitous hill and defended by strong walls, this pirate city had long resisted all assault; but Waldemar captured it by stratagem. His soldiers secretly stuffed the hollows of the rocky bank with dry wood and brush, to which they set fire, and soon the roaring flames covered the whole face of the cliff, and rushing upward consumed the wooden walls upon the summit. Following the flames came the soldiers of Waldemar, who easily rushed over the defenses from which the Wends had already been driven by the terrific heat of the fire.

The defeated pirates submitted; and for two whole days Axel and Waldemar

HEATHEN AND CHRISTIAN

(Grettir, the Outlaw, Slays the Priests of Trondheim)

From a painting by the Scandinavian artist, M. Zeno Diemer

CHRISTIANITY made its way only very slowly among these wild warriors of the north. Its acceptance was really a long warfare of savage Heathens against sometimes equally savage Christians. Queen Thyra had been a Christian, but had found few followers among her people. The man who chiefly Christianized the north was the great king, Olaf Trygvesson. Olaf was a chief descended from the ancient stock of Odin. He had been exiled from Norway in his youth and had engaged in viking raids against England. There he had learned of Christianity and accepted it. Later he became king of Norway, then the most powerful of the Scandinavian kingdoms; and he resolved to compel his subjects to adopt his religious faith. He did this by force, marching over his kingdom, knocking down the idols in its sacred places and setting up Christian churches instead. Those who opposed him were slain or outlawed. Naturally after Olaf's death many of the outlaws sought to return and there was a revival of the old pagan worship.

A noted case of this was the one here pictured. The most celebrated of all the outlaws, Grettir, the hero of a Norse saga, or hero song, suddenly appeared at Trondheim, the chief religious center of the far north. Here he slew with his own hand all the Christian priests and restored for a moment the pagan worship of the past. Grettir, however, was soon slain. Christianity had grown too deeply rooted, and the idols of Odin and Thor disappeared before it.

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maintained their weary place upon the judgment altar, the bishop baptizing or the king condemning, until all the pirates had accepted Christianity. Then the great four-headed idol of the city was solemnly burned in the public square. As no avenging bolt fell upon the destroyers, the Wends concluded that their god was indeed powerless—and they remained Christians.

In similar fashion Waldemar extended his power over many other Wendish tribes, and won for Denmark a security of peace under which the land prospered greatly. Dying when fifty-one, Waldemar left a kingdom as strong and united as his accession had found it feeble and divided. Never was monarch so mourned by his people. Even the stern bishop Absalon was overcome, and could not for tears pronounce the burial service at the hero's grave.

When the German Emperor Barbarossa sent to King Canute VI, Waldemar's son and successor, calling on him to acknowledge himself in his turn a vassal of the empire, and to do homage for his kingdom as a fief, Canute returned defiant word that if Denmark belonged to the Emperor he had better send some one there strong enough to take it. This was an open denial of vassalage; but so powerful had Denmark grown that the Emperor let the haughty message pass unchallenged.

Canute extended the Wendish conquests of his father, capturing Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and in his triumph, he assumed the title "King of the Wends." Canute's sister Ingeborg married Philip Augustus, the great king of France; and Denmark assumed in many ways the position of a leading European state. Danish students were numerous in Paris. Old chronicles speak of the rapid improvement of the land, its wealth, its commerce, its devotion to the arts, the military renown of its leaders, especially the aged bishop Absalon. Two of the greatest German cities, Lubeck and Hamburg, did homage to the King of Denmark; and Canute ruled over wider territories than any of his predecessors since the time of his namesake, Canute the Great.

Following Canute VI upon the throne, came his brother and chief supporter, Waldemar II, called the Victorious (1202–1241). It is illustrative of the encroachment of feudalism upon Danish life and of the decay of the stalwart Danish peasantry, that Waldemar received his nomination to the crown not from the peasants but from the nobles of the duchies and provinces in northern Germany, of which he had become master during his brother's reign. These nobles, having already accepted Waldemar as their overlord, now eagerly evaded his too close supervision, by raising him to the Danish throne. The choice was natural and fitting, and the Danes readily acquiesced in it.

Waldemar's victories were obtained mainly over the Esthonians, the heathen races occupying the east shores of the Baltic where Narva and St. Petersburg now stand. He led against them what statisticians have reckoned the largest fleet and

army ever sent out from Denmark, probably sixty thousand men. The Esthonians were overwhelmed, and baptized by wholesale (1219).

This conquest marks the height of Denmark's power, the widest spread of her dominion. To one of the Esthonian battles is ascribed the origin of the Danish flag of to-day, the white cross on a red ground. As the white cross was the emblem of the Crusaders, it seems probable that this flag was sent to King Waldemar by the Pope in token of approval of his religious war or crusade against the powerful pagans of the North. Danish legend, however, represents the flag as falling from heaven in the midst of a great battle, when the Christian forces had been surprised by the heathen, their royal standard captured, and flight already begun. Suddenly the miraculous emblem appeared before the troops; and, reanimated by its presence, they gained an overwhelming victory.

Waldemar also attempted the conquest of Sweden, but met with a severe defeat. Against Germany he had the satisfaction of seeing an emperor—or half an emperor, for Otto of Bavaria was never very firmly fixed upon the imperial throne—in flight before him, Otto not daring to give battle to the Danes. For the services thus done Otto's rival, Frederick II, the latter rewarded Waldemar by surrendering to him all the coast lands of Germany "north of the Elbe and the Eider." So proud were the Danes of the triumphs of their king that the path of his glory was marked out among the stars. The "Milky Way" is still known in Denmark as "Waldemar's Way."

In the very midst of his glorious victories Waldemar's downfall came like a bolt from a clear sky. Count Henry of Schwerin, one of the German lords who had been made his vassal, laid a trap for him, and suddenly in the night, while the king and his son were hunting, they were seized and bound. The victims were flung like sacks across a couple of horses and driven madly over the country through the night, until a strong castle was reached, where they were held prisoners.

A Danish army was hurriedly raised; but all the German lords who had cause of complaint against Waldemar united in its defeat. The fortress in which Count Henry held his victims proved impregnable. The Pope commanded him to surrender them, but he refused. The Emperor also commanded it, but in such half-hearted fashion as suggested that he would not be sorry to see the ruin of this too-powerful northern king. Waldemar remained for three years a prisoner, exposed to the cruellest severities; and when at last he regained his freedom, it was only by consenting to such terms as stripped him of his power, and his kingdom of its added territories.

This celebrated though unfortunate sovereign was twice, perhaps thrice, married. The wife of his youth was Dagmar, a Bohemian princess, who was so tender to the poor that they treasure her in memory as a saint; and so devoted was she to her husband that legend represents her body as coming back to momentary life

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DANISH FLAG

(Waldemar the Victorious is Guided by the Sacred Flag in a Crusade)

Drawn from an ancient Danish print

DENMARK, being the most southern of the Scandinavian kingdoms, was naturally the earliest to be drawn into the larger circle of European affairs. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries she was recognized as one of the chief states of the day. Under her celebrated king, Waldemar the Victorious, she rose to such power that the German emperor granted to Waldemar all the north German seacoast.

Waldemar led against the Esthonians, the heathen peoples east of the Baltic, an army which was probably the largest Denmark ever put into the field. The war was regarded as a holy one and the defeated Esthonians were compelled to accept Christianity. It was on this occasion that the Danes adopted their national flag, the "Danebrog," a white cross on a red background. As this was the commonly used crusading banner, they probably received it from the Pope. But Danish legend says the flag fell from the skies just as the Esthonians first attacked them; and that the standard led King Waldemar onward. The heathen fell away from it on every side and the king rode on to easy victory. At any rate, the Danes adopted the banner of the cross as their national flag; and the Esthonians surrendered to Waldemar, who thus became lord of all the southern shores of the Baltic.

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even in her coffin in answer to his prayers. The last of Waldemar's wives was Berengaria, a Portuguese princess, who in the Danish tales stands as an antithesis to Dagmar, and is represented as the source of every evil that afterward befell the land.

The death of Waldemar left Denmark to another century of decline and civil war. The king, perhaps at Queen Berengaria's supplication, had given his younger sons such vast estates as practically to divide the kingdom among them; and they and their sons after them were engaged in constant quarrelling. Few members of the royal race died in their beds, most were murdered. At last, in 1340, the third of the great Waldemars, known as Attertag (other day), came to the throne and for a time bade fair to restore the strength and prosperity of the land.

His accession marked the close of a period in which the Danish monarchy sank to the lowest depths it has ever reached. For eight years previous there had been no king in Denmark. Christopher II, the last nominal holder of the title, had died in exile so powerless, that once when a poor count, thinking to curry favor with Denmark's enemies, captured Christopher, the prisoner was freed again because no one cared enough about him to keep him in duress. Denmark itself was wholly under the dominion of German nobles, chiefly the Counts of Holstein, one of whom, called Geert the Great, administered the government and finances of the country as he pleased. All the various provinces had been pawned for enormous sums of money, which were loaned to meet the extravagances of poor Christopher and his predecessors, or rather were exacted from their weakness. Scania was held by the last of the ancient kings of Sweden, Magnus Smek, in pledge for such a sum as seemed impossible to raise. The mainland of Jutland was pawned to Count Geert himself, and the large island of Zealand to his brother, neither of whom had any idea of ever surrendering his possessions.

Suddenly however, in 1340, the downtrodden Danes flared into desperate rebellion, and Count Geert was murdered. A message was sent by roundabout and secret ways to a son of the aged Christopher, an exile in Germany. The young man was invited to assume his father's abandoned crown. He instantly accepted and hurried to Denmark. He was Waldemar Attertag, eminently the man for the moment, cold and strong, restrained, persistent, and when the need arose, false. His character won him his surname, Other day; for, finding himself foiled in many a project by utter lack of means, he did not despair but quietly laid each scheme aside saying, "There will come another day."

For a time it seemed as if that other day always did arrive. To secure his accession the new king had to pledge himself not to protect the murderers of Count Geert; but to give them up for execution would have enraged all Denmark. Somehow they managed to escape to Sweden, and the astute monarch was relieved from his dilemma. A dangerous rival threatened the throne. Instead of losing

a kingdom in precarious fight, Waldemar wedded the rival's sister and received a comfortable dowry. All his life he was engaged in gathering money, until his people bitterly spoke of him as a miser. Yet surely never had man greater need of enormous sums, never did one put them to better use. He sold the distant and unprofitable province of Esthonia, and with the proceeds, added to the whole of his wedding dowry, he redeemed Jutland from the heirs of Count Geert. Partly by purchase, partly by treachery and by much fighting, he drove the Holsteiners out of Zealand as well as from the other islands. He promised the feeble Swedish king aid against a rebellion, exacted some rights over Scania as a recompense, and then seized the province by force. Once more the Danish lands were free of foreign tax-collectors, and their people could raise their heads among the nations. Some authorities have derived Waldemar's surname from this. He caused another and a better day to dawn upon his people.

Waldemar, the Restorer as he is sometimes called, next came into conflict with the Hansa, the great league of the North German commercial cities. Their chief port on the Baltic was Wisby on the island of Gothland off the Swedish coast. In direct defiance of a treaty he had made, the Danish king suddenly attacked Wisby with all his naval power. The inhabitants, he said, had sung satirical songs against him; and he battered down their wall, rode in over the breach and carried off so enormous a booty that the town was ruined, and never again do we see its name in the list of the rich trading cities of the North (1360).

Proud of his exploit, Waldemar called himself King of the Goths. He had made, it seemed, a real step toward the conquest of Sweden. But now all his enemies united against him. The Swedes forced their king, Magnus Smek, to abandon his alliance with Denmark. Magnus' son Hakon, already King of Norway, repudiated his betrothal to Waldemar's daughter and was betrothed instead to a German princess of Holstein. Sweden, Norway, the German lords, the Hanse league, all at once and together bore down on Denmark.

The Hanse towns, the most powerful of his foes, seem always to have been underrated by Waldemar. It was the one weakness in his well-played game, the feudal arrogance which could not conceive of prowess or power as connected with common tradesfolk. He had deliberately defied the Hanse league by his attack on Wisby. Now when the cities declared war, he answered their deputation with jeering, scurrilous verses, beginning,

"If seventy-seven geese
"Come cackling, come cackling at me."*

For a time he made head against all his enemies. The mighty Hanse fleet had dominated the Baltic for almost a century, forbidding the Danes to fish in their

* There were seventy-seven towns in the league, and Hansa might be interpreted, a goose.

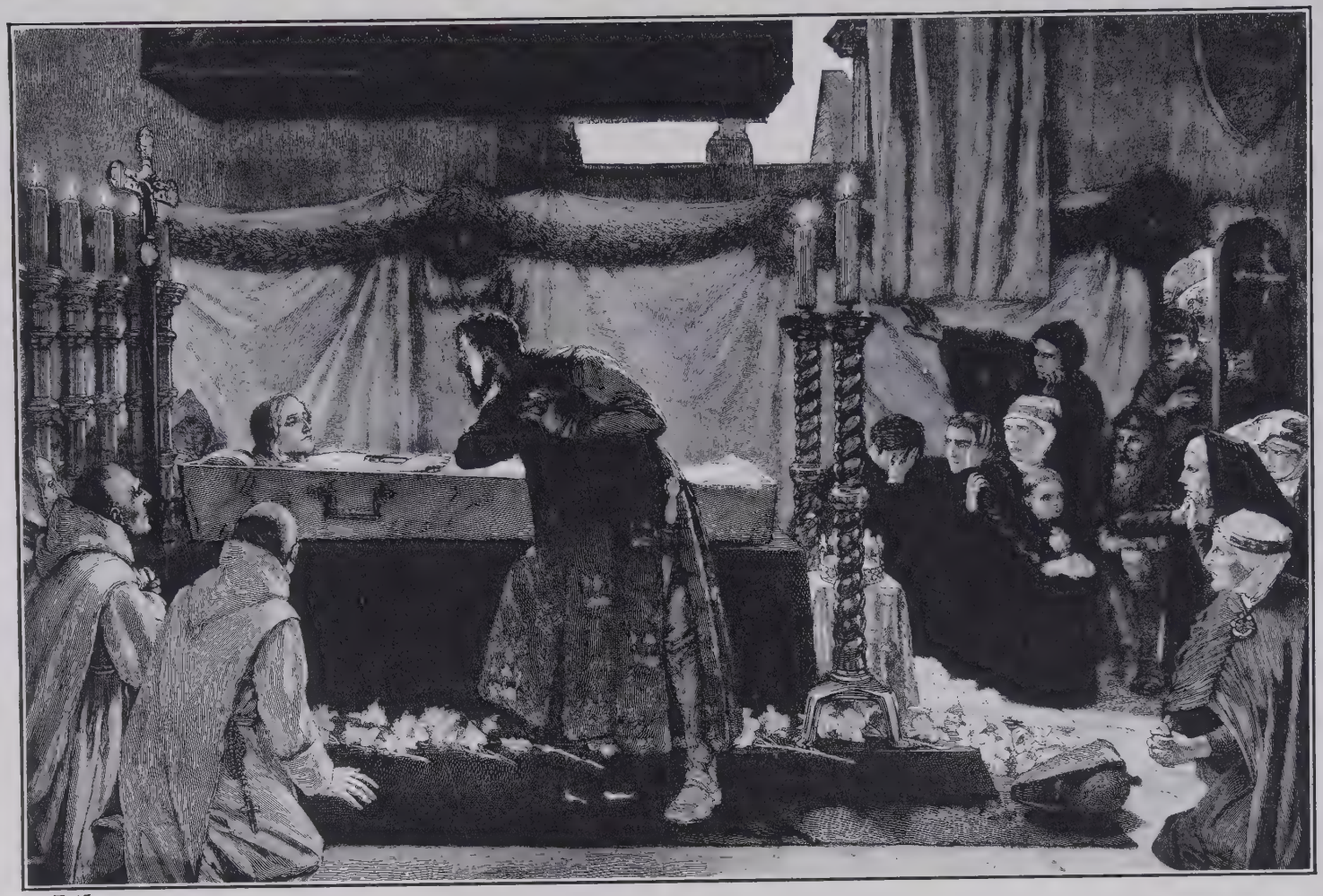
THE DEAD QUEEN SPEAKS

(Waldemar the Victorious by the Bier of His Wife)

From a painting by G. von Rosen

THE private life of Waldemar the Victorious was so sad as to destroy all joy that his national successes might have roused in him. He wedded for love's sake a Bohemian princess called Dagmar. She was beautiful and a saint, so full of charity that all her Danish subjects loved her from the moment she entered the kingdom. She was also devoted to her husband. But he was summoned away to a war with Germany; and when he returned in haste and eager triumph, it was to find his young wife dead. Legend tells that, as our picture shows, the passionately grieving husband so entreated his wife to speak to him that at length she raised her dead head from the coffin and rebuked him for thinking more of this world than the next.

Waldemar afterward married a Portuguese princess, Berengaria, who is represented as having been just the opposite of Dagmar in everything. This last wife is said to have deliberately led her aging lord into every kind of difficulty. It is certain that his life closed in defeat and disaster; and the sons of Berengaria snatched at their inheritance and fought over it, tearing the kingdom to fragments in their brutal greed.



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own waters, allowing the Danish King himself but a single day each year in which to gather herring for the use of his private household. This fleet was so completely defeated by Waldemar that its admiral was executed by his own townsfolk of Lubeck. The unlucky Holstein princess, setting sail to Norway for her wedding, was shipwrecked on the Danish coast. Waldemar, with many protestations of respect, refused to allow her to proceed upon her dangerous voyage until a calmer season of the year. Meanwhile, he sent hurriedly for the Swedish Magnus and his son Hakon of Norway; and these two, still at heart preferring alliance with Waldemar rather than with their rebellious subjects, came at the call. Hakon resumed his earlier pledge and wedded Waldemar's daughter Margaret, still only eleven years old. The poor Holstein princess found herself led to a cloister instead of a palace, and was forced to become a nun.

These successes enabled Waldemar to patch up a "perpetual peace" with his enemies (1363). He retained all that he had seized and stood for a time at the summit of his power. Unfortunately he failed to preserve the affections of his own people. The enormous expenses entailed by his wars and his negotiations, had led to the imposing of very heavy taxes throughout Denmark. At first the people, recognizing the necessity for this, eagerly upheld their king in everything. But after a quarter of a century or so, they forgot the far worse conditions they had suffered under the German domination of Count Geert, they became more and more rebellious, and accused their ruler of hoarding the vast wealth he took from them. His earlier title of the Restorer was lost in a later one; he was called Waldemar the Bad. Neither had the Hanse league forgotten its defeat and the insults heaped upon its deputies. It was slowly gathering a fleet intended to be so enormous as to make resistance impossible.

In 1367 there was a sudden uprising of the Jutland nobles against the king. The powerful Hanse fleet took part with the rebels; and Waldemar, seeing himself outmatched, justified his name. "There will come another day," he said, and departed with his family into exile. His subjects declared that he carried with him all the enormous treasure which he had been collecting for so many years.

From this time Denmark lay in the power of the Hansa. It was even agreed that the approval of the League must be secured in electing all future Danish kings. In 1372, the League consented to restore Waldemar to his throne, but on such harsh terms as made him little more than a vassal of the traders. A few years later he died, before finding time to put in operation any of the schemes, which his resolute brain must surely have been planning, to regain his power.

ERIC OF POMERANIA REPELLING THE POLES

Chapter IV

QUEEN MARGARET AND THE UNION OF KALMAR

[*Special Authorities:* Fryxell, "History of Sweden"; Barfod, "History of Denmark from 1319"; Erslev, "Queen Margaret"; Suhm, "History of Denmark to 1400"; Dahlman, "History of Denmark."]

WALDEMAR ATTERTAG set on foot one train of events whose consequences even his far-seeing brain could scarcely have expected. His daughter Margaret, the pawn of his political schemes, wedded at the age of eleven to Hakon of Norway, became Margaret the Great, the "Semiramis of the North," the reuniter of the three Scandinavian kingdoms in the Union of Kalmar. This union, which lasted in some shape for almost two entire centuries, was formally proclaimed in 1397, but events had been shaping toward it long before. Let us review briefly the causes which led to this sudden union.

Of the happenings in Norway and Sweden during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is scarcely necessary to speak. The kings who descended from Ragnar Lodbrok had all slain one another at last. The best of them in Sweden was Eric the Saint, whose coat of arms is still seen upon the Swedish flag, and who on his father's side was a son of the common peasantry. He ruled in 1155, and then came a century of his successors, the "Bondar" or peasant kings, chosen alternately from the Svea or Swedes and the Gota or Goths. Well-nigh a century followed of the "Folkingar" kings chosen from one family of nobles remotely allied to the royal line, until in 1319 there was but one remaining male

DOWNFALL OF WALDEMAR

(His Subjects Attempt to Rescue Him From a German Dungeon)

After a painting by the German artist, F. Grotenmeyer

WALDEMAR THE VICTORIOUS suffered not only in his family life, but also in his national career. Seldom has a reign which opened so splendidly as his, closed in so much of misfortune. His power had become so great that no man dared oppose him openly; but a clever plot was formed against him by some of the German nobles who had become his subjects. With a small but resolute force of men-at-arms they kidnapped the king and his eldest son, and carried them off as prisoners to a strong castle. Here they were held in close and cruel confinement.

At first no one knew what had become of the royal victims. A long and patient search at length disclosed what had happened, and King Waldemar's Danish subjects, who loved him dearly, gathered an army for his rescue. The subjugated German nobles, however, took part with his captors. A formal demand for his release was made by the Danes and refused by the Germans. Battle followed; but though the Danes were victors in the field, they could not storm the strong castle where the king was held. Ultimately an agreement was patched up by which Waldemar surrendered almost all his German territory in exchange for his liberty. Denmark never again reached to so much power.

descendant even faintly connected with the ancient royal house. This was a child three years old, and him the Swedes crowned as king. The common people of Norway, rebelling against the tyranny of their nobles, sent an embassy to request that this last feeble branch of the ancient royal tree be allowed to rule them also. It was this king, the weak-minded Magnus Smek, who was in alliance with Waldemar Attertag.

The people of Sweden and Norway had small cause to be proud of having chosen Magnus; for as he grew up he proved contemptible in many ways, abandoned himself to gross pleasures and was wholly under the dictation of his worthless queen and debased favorites. In Sweden the people deposed him and crowned his son Eric in his stead. The Norwegians also demanded his abdication, conferring their crown upon his second son, Hakon, the youth who wedded Waldemar's daughter Margaret after once jilting her for a German princess. So Hakon became King in Norway, but in Sweden young Eric died, and Magnus temporarily regained his throne. The Swedes however, could never forgive Magnus for surrendering Scania to Waldemar. In 1363 they again rose in rebellion and, deposing their feeble king, offered the throne to a powerful German prince, Albert of Mecklenburg, in the hope that he might prove able to defend it against Magnus, against his son, Hakon of Norway, and even against their ally, Waldemar.

Waldemar, as we have seen, had disasters to encounter at home. Hakon, after one brief and not over-successful campaign, made no further effort to aid his father against Sweden; but only provided the aged incompetent with a home in Norway. Over this latter kingdom, Hakon and his wife Margaret ruled wisely for several years, and had a little son, Olaf, destined to be king of both Norway and Denmark.

In Denmark the sons of Waldemar Attertag died before their father, leaving him the last male descendant of his race. So on his death (1375) the Danes, who had always been devoted to his daughter Margaret, elected little four-year-old Olaf as his grandfather's successor, and invited his mother to become regent. Her pacific government won her the friendship of the Hanse towns, which upheld her every measure. So successful was her rule that when Hakon of Norway died (1380), Margaret was at once proclaimed regent over that kingdom also, to govern it for her son.

Olaf was a bold and intellectual lad and bade fair to become an energetic ruler in his own right; but he died when only seventeen (1387). Margaret's enemies accused her of poisoning him in order to retain the power in her own hands, but there seems little in her character to justify the suspicion. She mourned her son long, and though both Norway and Denmark immediately besought her to continue to rule over them, she was slow and seemingly hesitant to assume the actual title and dignity of a reigning sovereign.

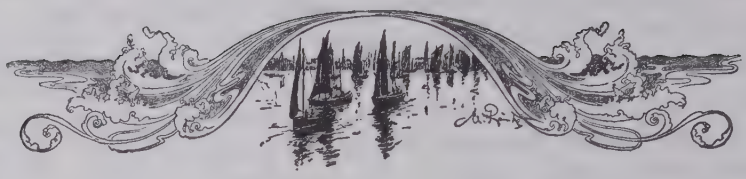
Sweden did not fall so peacefully into her hands. The German prince who had been invited to defend it from the follies of King Magnus, became a tyrant in his turn; and the Swedish peasants, contrasting their evil plight with the happy state of Denmark and Norway under Margaret, declared him deposed and entreated Margaret to assume the throne. The Swedish nobles, however, were by no means united in her favor. Many of them preferred rapine to peace, license to restraint; and it was not until 1389 that Margaret finally accepted the repeated call of the Swedes and marched an army against their German king. He was defeated and made prisoner; but Stockholm held out in his favor and endured a three years' siege. It was not until 1398 that this last stronghold of the Germans in the north finally passed into Queen Margaret's hands.

Meanwhile, being practically assured of victory, Margaret had planned and consummated the union, meant to be perpetual, of her three kingdoms. Her only son being dead, she sent for her sister's grandson, Duke Eric of Pomerania, and announced him her heir. As soon as she could persuade the council of each kingdom to accept him, she resigned the throne, and at Kalmar in 1397, Eric was proclaimed King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

It was agreed that in future the three kingdoms should have but one ruler, though each should retain its own laws and its own council of government. If one became involved in war, the others must aid it, and a treaty made by the common sovereign was to be binding upon all.

Though Margaret had thus hastened to relinquish her nominal title as a sovereign, she continued to direct the government with rare strength and tact until her death (1412). Probably in her later years the power of her united realms was more than equal to that of the great Hanse league, which had crushed her father. But she was far too wise to put the question to the test, and always maintained the most amicable relations with the German merchants, a matter not difficult for any monarch who would simply flatter their vanity by treating them as equals.

Young King Eric remained a mere figurehead in his own empire. He managed to stir up a quarrel with Denmark's old enemies, the Counts of Holstein; and Margaret seems to have been quite willing that he should continue fighting there, and thus engross himself and the other young hot-heads of her domains, whose energies must needs find outlet somewhere. After Margaret's death, however, Eric's irresponsible character became another matter. So set was he on his Holstein war and its vengeances, that he wholly neglected his own realms. The Holsteiners could not meet him in open battle, but they manfully defended their strong castles, and Eric laid siege to one after another with very little success. He was always calling on Sweden and Norway for more troops and more money. Of these kingdoms themselves he knew nothing, and kept sending Danish and Ger-



THE SACK OF WISBY

(The Chief German City of the North is Plundered and Ruined by the Danes

From a painting at Munich in 1882 by C. G. Hellquist, the Swedish artist

THE power of Denmark, which had so shrunk in the last days of Waldemar the Victorious, was once more upraised by another Waldemar, called the Restorer, or Waldemar Attertag. This king came to the throne in 1340 when his country was utterly trodden underfoot by the surrounding German nobles and also by the German townsfolk. The latter had established a great commercial league known as the Hansa; and the seventy-seven cities of the Hansa had by their mighty fleet established complete dominion over the northern seas. They only allowed the King of Denmark himself to fish in the waters of the Baltic one day out of the year.

Most powerful of all these Hansa cities was Wisby, situated far up the Swedish coast on an island in the Baltic. Waldemar Attertag steadily increased the strength of his kingdom and quietly built up a fleet of ships until he felt strong enough to defy the Hansa. Then he suddenly attacked and captured Wisby. He made the townsfolk pay him such an enormous ransom that Wisby was completely ruined and disappears from the list of the Hansa cities. The rest of the league attacked Waldemar; but he held his own against them, and they made peace on equal terms. Later Waldemar's own people rebelled against his severity, and the Hansa took advantage of the civil war to drive Waldemar into exile. Once more the German cities controlled all the north.

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man officials to hector them and extort taxes, until he was as hated as his foster-mother had been loved.

For her sake the Swedes and Norwegians bore with the consequences of her ill-starred union as long as might be. In 1427 the Hanse League declared war against Eric and twice its fleets attacked Copenhagen. On the second occasion the fall of the capital seemed inevitable, but it was heroically defended by Eric's queen, Philippa, daughter of Henry IV of England.

At length (1433) the peasants of Dalecarlia, the mountainland of Sweden, rebelled and established their leader as governor of the country. A year or so later Eric managed to patch up a peace with them, but they revolted again, and one of the great nobles of Sweden, Karl Knutsson, or Canutesson, became practically sovereign of the land.

In Denmark also, the peasants revolted against Eric; and while he was vowing furious vengeance, the councils of both Sweden and Denmark met and declared him deposed (1439). He took refuge in the island of Gothland and sent out pirate ships to ravage his domains. But ultimately he was driven from Gothland also and fled to his native land of Pomerania, whence he continued his piratical plundering until his death. Once when the people appealed to his successor on the Danish throne to suppress Eric's raids, the new king responded that since the people had taken three kingdoms from Eric, they could well afford him a stray dinner or so.

This new king was Duke Christopher of Bavaria, who was a German nephew of Eric, and had been elected to succeed him on his three thrones. In Sweden the governor, Karl Knutsson, might probably have seized the throne for himself. The peasants and even some of the nobles, heartily disgusted with everything Danish, urged him to do so. But the clergy insisted on the maintenance of the union; and Karl after welcoming King Christopher, went into a sort of voluntary banishment as Duke of Finland.

Norway was even slower to accept Christopher. The ancient loyalty to Queen Margaret led the people to cling to Eric and insist on calling him king even when he was a distant pirate, displaying no desire to reach or dwell in their poor and barren land. Finally, however, Christopher was proclaimed in Norway also. He was a good-natured though somewhat thoughtless and lazy king, his idle comment on Eric's piracies being characteristic of his usual attitude of indifference. Hence he roused no dangerous enmities and his reign proved a period of peace. Under him the union of Kalmar seemed at length permanently established. Its initial difficulties had been overcome, and all Scandinavia seemed united in a common destiny.

Escape of Christian from Stockholm

Chapter V

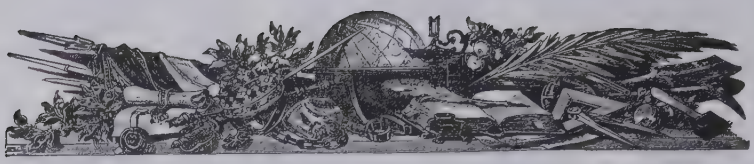
BREAKING OF THE UNION UNDER CHRISTIAN II

[*Special Authorities:* Allen, "History of the Northern Kingdoms from 1397"; Hvitfeldt, "Chronicle of Denmark"; Dalin, "History of the Swedish Kingdom."]

IT seems unfortunate that at this time so many of the Scandinavian monarchs should have left no direct successors. The result was that strangers were constantly being called to rule, foreigners who knew little of the people and could scarce be expected to care deeply for their welfare. Moreover, the ill-arranged union of Kalmar exercised always its baneful influence. The moment a king was elected to one throne, he began to claim the others also, and to scheme and fight for them.

As the monarchs resided almost wholly in Denmark, that land knew first of their death and was usually first to elect a successor. King Christopher, dying in 1448, left no heir whatever, so the Danish council turned to another German duke, whose descent could be traced back through a couple of centuries of intermarriages to a Danish princess. This new King, Christian of Oldenburg, ended the shifting of families for Denmark at least. His direct descendants, the Oldenburg line, still constitute, after four and a half centuries, the Danish royal house.

Sweden, however, refused to submit to the rule of another German stranger. The former leader of revolt, Karl Knutsson, was placed upon the throne. Both he and Christian of Denmark sought to secure the Norwegian crown, and first one then the other of them was recognized by the Norwegians. In truth the desire



THE LATER KINGS OF DENMARK

(The Chief Kings Who After the Union of Kalmar Ruled Denmark and Sometimes Norway and Sweden)

Designed and arranged for the present series

BEFORE the days of the tyranny of the Hansa League over the north, Scandinavia had been divided among many little kings, each chosen by his own district, and then extending his realm by conquest if he could. But now there came a change; the need of a united defense against the Hansa became evident, and finally all the northland was voluntarily drawn together under one sovereign in what was known as the Union of Kalmar (1397).

This union was accomplished by a very remarkable woman, Queen Margaret, a daughter of King Waldemar Attertag. On her father's death she became regent of Denmark for her baby son. She ruled so wisely that both Norway and Sweden asked to come under her dominion also, and when her little son died she was made Queen in her own name over all the north. She established a permanent arrangement for the union of the three countries and was thus so powerful that she was able to break the grip of the tyrant Hansa and, not by war but by treaty, established her people once more on terms of equality with the Germans.

After the Union of Kalmar the Danish kings retained for centuries something of their lordship of the north. They established an hereditary instead of an elective kingship; and its chief rulers are here pictured. Sweden afterward broke from the union, but Norway remained attached to Denmark until the days of Napoleon.

X-50

Christian III.
Frederick IV.
Christian VII

Frederick III.
Christian II.
Christian IX.
Frederick V

Christian IV.
Christian V.
Frederick II.

of Norway at the time appears to have been only for peace. She had no native kings to uphold, and aimed only to avoid conflict with either of her more powerful neighbors. As King Karl proved unable to maintain himself even in Sweden, Norway ultimately accepted Christian.

The Swedish nobles and bishops, on the other hand, felt themselves strong, and acted quite independently. They quarrelled with King Karl, exiled him, and called Christian to the throne. Then they deserted Christian in turn, and restored Karl. There was continual plotting, continual civil war, always a Danish force quartered in some part of the country, laying it waste, plundering the peasants. Four separate times in his eventful life was Karl Knutsson driven into exile, yet he was seated on the Swedish throne when he died (1470). His power, that is the power of the party of the nobility, descended to his chief supporters, the family of Sture; and its representative, Karl's nephew Sten Sture, became governor of the kingdom.

Karl's last advice to his young relative was never to assume the title of king, as it would only bring upon him the jealousy and treachery of his fellow nobles. So the new governor made vague acknowledgments of Christian's overlordship, while excluding him from any real share in the Swedish government. Sometimes Christian fought for what he considered his rights; but he could never gain any permanent authority over the Swedes, nor could his son Hans, who succeeded him in Denmark and Norway, and nominally in Sweden (1481).

It should be remembered that all three of these thrones had continued elective ever since the ancient viking days. That is to say, a general assembly of each nation selected from the royal family the member whom they thought best fitted to bear rule over them. This was in direct opposition to the feudal custom prevalent throughout most of Europe, by which the eldest son was heir to everything. It was a survival of the days of the old Northmen, when all the warriors met on an equal footing to choose their leader. Gradually, with the growth of feudal ideas, the poorer classes had been deprived of their rights, crowded out of the general assembly, until it was really only the nobles and bishops who voted for the king. There were always several candidates eager for the office; and the nobles bargained when they could, demanding from each new king fresh privileges, until in Sweden the king had become a mere figurehead.

In Denmark, King Hans now found himself little better off. He had a younger brother, Frederick, who intrigued for the crown; and Hans had to buy the sovereignty from each of the three kingdoms by enormous concessions.

The most noteworthy event of his reign was his disastrous defeat by the Ditmarshers (1500). These were the peasants of the German marshes along the North Sea. Their poverty and their valor had kept them practically independent for centuries. A German emperor had once made gift of the whole worthless

region as a fief to a Danish king; and now Hans, urged on by his brother Frederick, resolved to convert this nominal lordship into an actual and profitable one. He penetrated the marshes with a large army, its members so assured of victory that many came in their hunting clothes, as if to a new sport of hunting marsh-men. Meldorf, the chief town of the region, was sacked with the most savage cruelty, "to terrify the rest." But a few hundred Ditmarshers waited on a narrow causeway. When attacked they fought desperately, and in the midst of the tumult opened their sluice-gates and let the ocean flood the neighborhood. Aided by long stilts and accustomed to rapid movement over the marshes, the Ditmarshers escaped to safety; but the invaders perished by thousands. The king and his brother fled through the mad confusion, not knowing how they escaped. The royal standard of Denmark was captured and displayed by the Ditmarshers in a parish church.

A few years preceding this crushing defeat, King Hans had succeeded in forcing the Swedes to grant him a real sovereignty; he had been crowned in Stockholm, and, after scolding Sten Sture furiously for his alleged misgovernment, had deprived him of much of his authority. Now the Swedes rose again. "If the Almighty," said they, "has rescued seven parishes of Ditmarshers from the Danish thieves, surely He will not suffer them to devour an entire kingdom." Hans had no longer a sufficient army to bring against the rebels, and on one occasion he was obliged to flee from Stockholm, leaving his queen a prisoner in Sten Sture's hands.

Even the Norwegian nobles thought the time opportune for revolt and the demanding of fresh privileges. The sorely badgered Hans entreated his brother's help to subdue them; but the ambitious Frederick demanded the regency of all Norway in return for his services. Sooner than grant this, King Hans raised a force of foreigners, German and Scottish mercenaries, and dispatched them to Norway under command of his son Christian (1506).

Thus comes into the story one of the most remarkable and contradictory figures in Scandinavian history. This prince, afterward King Christian II, was the last holder of the three united northern kingdoms. Viewed from one standpoint, he has been represented as an able and earnest reformer with the good of his people ever at heart. Other writers have described him as an utter madman, insane in his savagery and lust of blood. Perhaps the true interpretation lies midway. He saw how the nobles by their exactions and quarrels were ruining all the North, he saw how they had destroyed his father's power; he hated them and, realizing the rising strength of the middle classes, sought to duplicate what had been done by other kings in other lands,—to rule through the favor of the common people, to be their king, and to crush the power of the nobility.

Christian was undoubtedly a man of rare intelligence, one of the most learned and accomplished of his time. In boyhood, during the long military absences of

KING ERIC DESERTS HIS KINGDOM

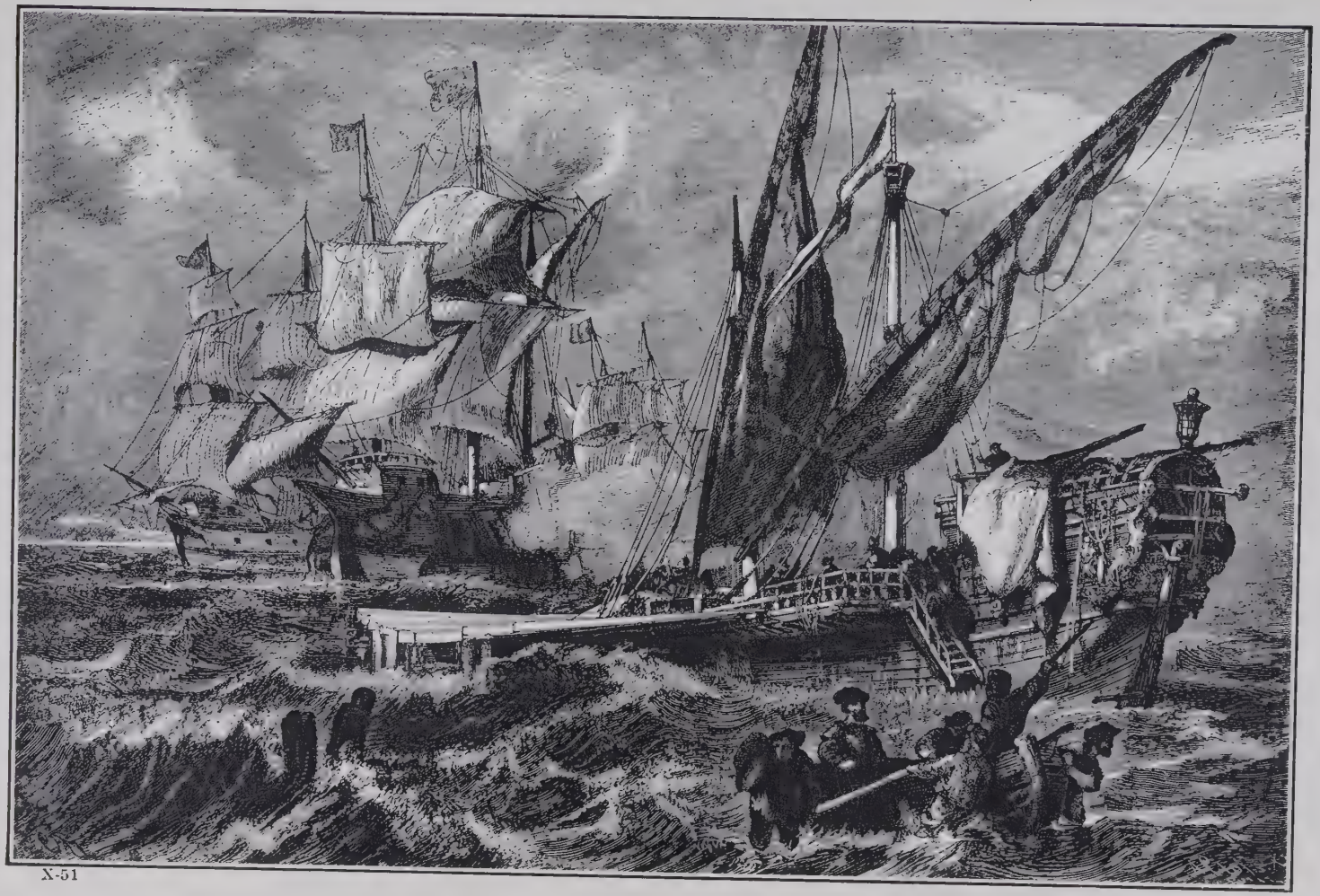
(The King Flees and Becomes a Pirate to Ravage His Own Lands)

After an old Danish drawing

THE one unwise act of the great Queen Margaret seems to have been her selection of a successor. She named as her heir her nearest relative, a grand-nephew, Duke Eric of Pomerania. Doubtless she thus hoped to draw Pomerania into her strong "union of the north." But Eric proved a most narrow-minded and obstinate king. His whole mind was set on war. He never visited Sweden or Norway at all, but from his Danish capital kept calling on the other lands for more soldiers and more money wherewith to fight his private quarrels in Germany.

Finally his exactions grew so severe that all three of his kingdoms united in deposing him. He attempted to resist, but found the opposition so unanimous that he took to sudden flight instead.

Escaping with a few ships, he established himself on the island where Whitby had once been, and making that his stronghold, he began a pirate career. Furious against his former subjects, he ravaged their coasts and plundered their towns when he could. The Danes and Swedes entreated the king whom they had elected in his place to lead an expedition against Eric; but the new sovereign refused, saying that, having deprived Eric of a kingdom, they ought not to begrudge him an occasional dinner.



X-51

King Hans, Christian was not left alone in his palace home, but was entrusted to the care of a Copenhagen burgomaster, probably a bookbinder. It was here that the lad gained his familiarity and liking for the tradesfolk of his kingdom. He even became a chorister and sang with other lads in the church services. Such extreme democracy seemed too shocking to his royal father, and the prince was snatched from his burgher friends and placed under the charge of a learned scholar, who made him a proficient in all the knowledge of the age. His free youth had, however, given him a taste for wild life and adventure; and there is a tale that his father once caught him slipping secretly out of the palace on some roistering expedition and flogged him mercilessly with a horsewhip.

This was the young man to whom, at the age of twenty, was entrusted his first kingly office, the pacification of Norway. An aged bishop was sent with him as his companion and adviser. But Christian had no wish for advice. To be rid of the bishop he imprisoned him, and then proceeded to crush Norway with an iron hand. The leader of the revolt was invited to a conference, and slain. Another great noble was defeated and captured by Christian, and tortured, until in his agony he accused almost every important man in Norway of plotting against Denmark. Tortures and executions followed without number, until we are told that the ancient Norwegian nobility was practically exterminated. Christian and his successors found no further trouble in keeping Norway subject to the Danish crown.

The grim young prince next marched his army into Sweden; and though he had not force enough to reduce the country, he compelled the Swedes to surrender his captive mother, and restored something of his father's authority in the land. King Hans however, refused to sanction further violence. On his deathbed (1513) he solemnly warned his son against low company, and urged him to resign all great projects of conquest and reign in peace and moderation. Hans himself, despite his moments of passion, had really endeavored to do this. But it may be judged how little likely Christian was to follow in his footsteps.

King Christian's choice for his chief adviser was an old Dutch woman, known as Mother Sigbrit. She had been a tavernkeeper, and Christian seems to have been honestly in love with her daughter, a beautiful maiden called Dyveka (the dove) who died young. She was said to have been poisoned by a noble, and Christian hounded this man to his death. Mother Sigbrit hated the nobility, and seized every occasion to express toward them her contempt and defiance. What wonder that the great lords dreaded her influence with the King!

The nobles were still further antagonized by a vast system of reforms, which Christian began for the benefit of the common people. He made education compulsory. The religious Reformation was sweeping over Germany, and he invited the reformers to preach in his country—though as they spoke only in German,

the effect upon the Danes was not noteworthy. He prohibited the selling of serfs as slaves, and authorized them to flee from their masters and settle elsewhere when ill-used. He even dared to forbid the ancient custom of plundering all wrecks that came ashore. This had been so profitable an industry that it had been seized upon as a right by various lords along the coast. Even the great bishops shared in it, and some of them protested vehemently against this invasion of their long established right to rob and murder the unfortunate mariners. Christian also sought to teach his people the best methods of agriculture; he compelled the building of good roads; he established public inns for travellers, and started the first postal service in Denmark.

All these reforms were inaugurated within the brief space of ten years. Only that long did Christian manage to retain his throne against the growing fear and suspicion of the all-powerful nobles. It was not his tyrannies that destroyed him, but his reforms.

His tyrannies were, nevertheless, terrible enough. Sweden looks back on him as the most hideous of monsters. On his father's death he was acknowledged King of Sweden without demur, and with this simple acknowledgment he remained content until 1516, when the party which upheld his authority in the rebellious country found itself driven to extremity. Sten Sture the younger, a grand-nephew of the previous governor of that name, was hailed by the Swedes as their chosen governor and by his energy and valor swept the Danes completely out of Sweden, Christian himself being defeated in the celebrated battle of Brennkirk (1518). Indeed the king only escaped capture with his entire fleet by a sudden change of wind. This enabled him to flee from the harbor of Stockholm, where he had been practically a prisoner. In 1520 a Danish general reversed matters by defeating the Swedes. Sten Sture, fleeing alone across the broad, ice-bound lakes in the cold of winter, died of his wounds; and the Swedes, left helpless and without a leader, surrendered themselves to Christian's mercy.

Of that he had already shown a sample in Norway. He entered Stockholm with many protestations of forgiveness; but six months later, at the close of the ceremonies attending his formal coronation, he suddenly accused as heretics all the Swedish nobles who had opposed him. The ground of this remarkable charge was that they had disobeyed a bishop who upheld the king; the consequence was that all the leading Swedes within reach were made prisoners. The next day they were beheaded in the public square of the city. The common people were summoned to attend the execution and any who, on viewing the slaughter, dared express pity or regret were seized and given into the headsman's hands.

On the day following, the king issued a proclamation to the astounded and terrified citizens assuring them that they might now freely show themselves, as he intended to punish no more. Many who had hidden, ventured out; and Chris-

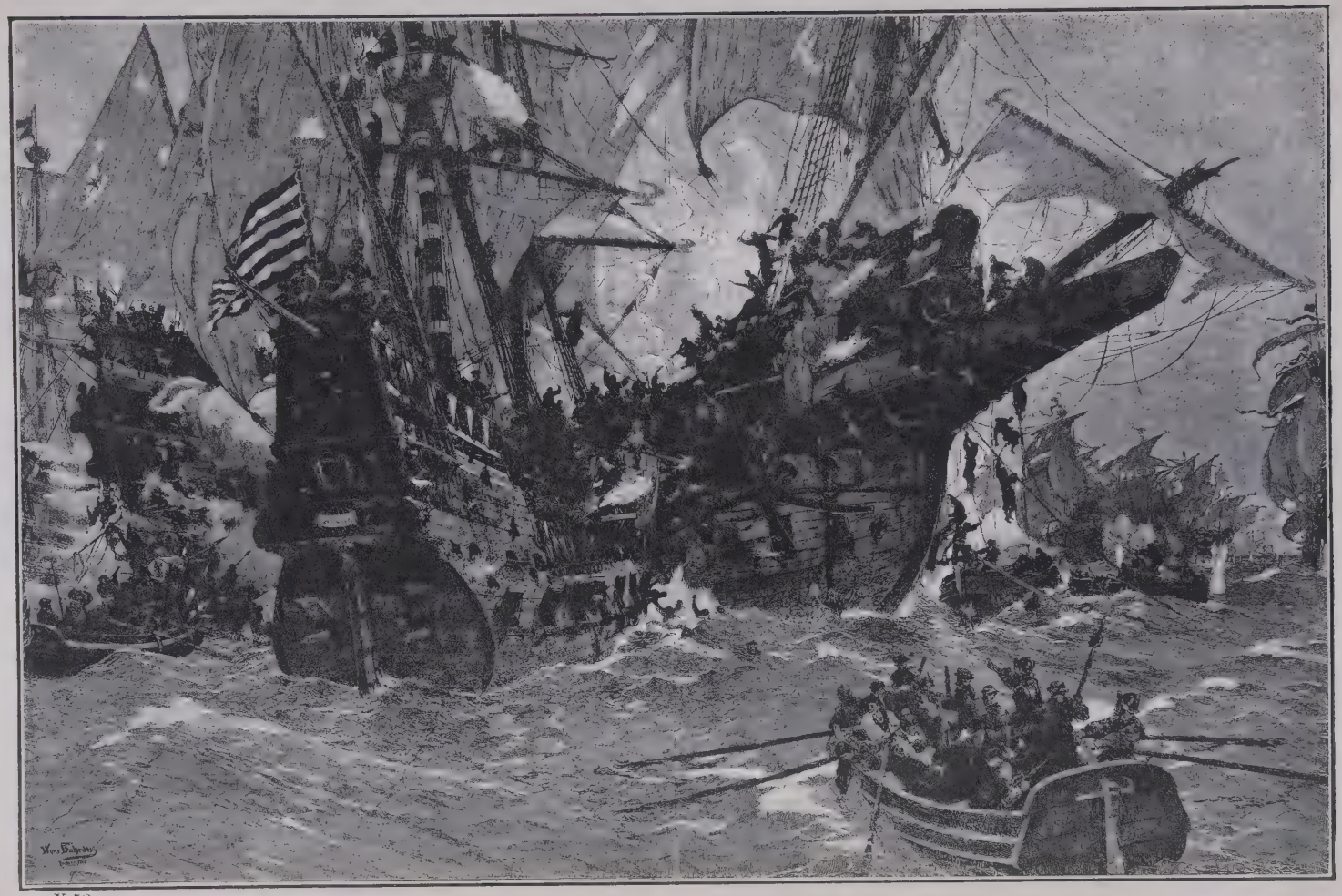
SWEDEN DEFEATS CHRISTIAN II

(The Danish King and His Fleet Escape from Sweden, Fighting Their Way Out of Stockholm Harbor)

After a painting by the Dutch artist, Hans Bohrdt

THE "Union of the North" was broken during the reign of Christian II, Denmark's great reforming king. Denmark itself remembers Christian with love and sorrow, but Norway and Sweden think of him as a most hideous monster. In truth he had learned to distrust and hate the nobility of his three kingdoms, whom he found ever selfishly plotting for their own power; and he resolved to rule as the friend of the peasantry. For this purpose he instituted many reforms, all looking to the uplifting and protection of the people. He thus antagonized the nobles. At the same time, by welcoming the preachers of Luther's reformation which was then sweeping over Germany, he antagonized the clergy.

The nobles of Norway revolted against Denmark; and Christian went among them, executed their leaders under torture, and continued the slaughter until he practically exterminated all the Norwegian nobility and left the land a nation of peasants. Then the Swedish nobles revolted, and Christian led an army and a fleet against them. Here, however, the rebels were prepared for him. They met force with force; the army of Christian was defeated and his fleet was beleaguered in the Stockholm harbor, surrounded by the Swedish forces and threatened with starvation. A sudden change of wind enabled Christian to turn unexpectedly upon the Swedish ships, break his way through their unprepared line, and so escape back to Denmark.



tian gave orders that they also should be slain. The Danish soldiers went wild, and broke into houses as if in a captured city, plundering and killing. The third day all the corpses were burned in one huge hecatomb. This was the "blood-bath" of Stockholm (1520).

Similar executions were ordered all over Sweden; and the noble ladies, wives and daughters of the murdered leaders, were carried away by Christian into captivity in Denmark, where several of them died of the severities to which they were subjected. The grim king then commanded that no one, not even the peasants, in Sweden, should bear arms, and his soldiers went through the land disarming everyone. It was even rumored that Christian had declared that in case of another rebellion he would cut a hand and a foot from every man in Sweden, and so stop their fighting forever.

All this savagery, however, instead of crushing rebellion, roused it afresh, and it had already assumed formidable proportions when Christian met his overthrow from another source. His own Danish nobles conspired against him. Their chief, if not their instigator, was his uncle Frederick, the same who had been so often a thorn in his father's side. The rebels declared Christian deposed and gathered their forces against him. The common people seemed everywhere in his favor and he threw himself into Copenhagen, apparently intent on a resolute defense. But suddenly he changed his mind and sailed away with his fleet, his friends and his treasure.

Fortune deserted him. A tempest wrecked his ships on the coast of Norway and he himself escaped with difficulty to Flanders. The intriguing Frederick reached the goal of his ambition, and was declared king in Denmark and Norway. Sweden, now in open rebellion, proclaimed a monarch of its own (1523). The next year Frederick recognized the independence of the defiant land, and the Union of Kalmar, though sometimes afterward made a subject of contest, was never again enforced. It had perished in the blood bath of Stockholm.

In Denmark, all the reforms of Christian were immediately abolished. The nobles resumed absolute power; the peasants were helpless. The deposed king was not yet, however, wholly resourceless. He was a brother-in-law of the great German Emperor, Charles V. Charles lent him aid, negotiations were opened and battles fought. The common folk were always on Christian's side; his cause was theirs. At one time he regained possession of almost the whole of Norway. But disaster had marked him for its own. Another of his fleets was destroyed by storm. Then he was defeated, and besieged in Christiania. There he was persuaded to entrust himself to a conference with King Frederick, who seized and imprisoned him (1532). The remaining twenty-seven years of Christian's long life were passed in durance, and the greater part of the time he was kept in a horrible, dark and doorless dungeon. If he inflicted evils, he also suffered them.

Coronation of Charles IX

Chapter VI

GUSTAVUS VASA AND THE RISE OF SWEDEN

[*Special Authorities:* Celsius, "History of Gustavus I"; Watson, "The Swedish Revolution under Gustavus Vasa"; Butler, "The Reformation in Sweden"; De Flaux, "History of Sweden under the House of Vasa"; Ahlquist, "King Eric XIV"; Celsius, "History of Eric XIV."]

THE story of Sweden's escape from the Danish thralldom is the story of Gustavus Vasa. He was a young Swedish nobleman so strong and resolute that, though only just of age, he was entrusted with the bearing of his country's royal standard in the battle of Brennkirk, in which Christian II was defeated (1518). Then, when Christian with his fleet was trapped in Stockholm and compelled to negotiate with the rebels, young Vasa was one of the hostages who went voluntarily on the king's ships to guarantee him safety during the debate. A sudden change of wind enabling Christian to escape from the harbor, he bore off the hostages with him as prisoners.

Gustavus escaped from captivity in daring fashion, and fled to Lubeck. The king demanded that he be given up; but the townfolk after much debate, sheltered him and helped him back to Sweden. They were anxious to keep King Christian busy elsewhere, so he should leave them in peace, and they foresaw that this vigorous and angry young man was likely to make trouble enough in Sweden.

The moment of Gustavus' return saw his country's cause at its lowest ebb. This was just before the "bloodbath" of Stockholm. The regent, Sten Sture, had been completely defeated and was dead. Christian was in absolute power. The returning exile heard of one fortress which still held out against the Danes, and he hurried thither. Instead of welcoming him, the garrison re-

The leader of the two lion Re- at this in flight.

From a painting by the Swedish artist C. G. Hellquist

DEATH OF STEN STURE

(The Leader of the Swedish Revolt Dies in Flight)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, C. G. Hellquist

THE struggle between Sweden and Denmark, thus begun against Christian II, was carried to the point of a final and complete break between these two chief countries of the north. The leader on the Swedish side was the head of the chief family of Sweden's nobility, the Stures. Sten Sture "the younger," as he was called to distinguish him from a noted ancestor of the same name, was the commander who had driven Christian to flight. For a time Sten remained practically king of Sweden. The Danes, however, dispatched another army against him. He was defeated and fled wounded across the frozen lakes of Sweden, bearing with him his regal sword and crown in a rough sledge drawn by a single horse. He perished from the cold and the exhaustion, and was found dead in his sledge by some loyal Swedish peasants.

After that King Christian came again to Stockholm and treated the Swedish nobility as he had the Norwegians, slaying all he could reach. But before he had completely crushed Sweden, his own Danish nobles rebelled against him in their turn, and these succeeded in driving him from his throne and making his uncle king. The common folk of Denmark loved Christian and stood by him, and he spent years struggling to regain his power. Finally his foes captured him, and he was held prisoner in a dungeon for the remainder of his life.

X-53

fused him admission, fearing his presence would further enrage the king against them.

So Gustavus became a hunted fugitive in his own land. His adventures read like the wildest romance. Moving secretly through the country districts, he strove to rouse the peasants to one more revolt, one last effort for freedom. But everywhere they refused to follow him. They dared not, so great was their terror of King Christian. "We have still bread and salt left," said they, "if we rebel, we shall lose even these." A price was set upon Gustavus' head, and Danish soldiers rode everywhere through the land seeking him.

Some of his own countrymen tried to betray him, others to save him. At one time he was borne past the Danish soldiers in a load of hay. They even thrust their spears into the hay to be sure it contained nothing. Gustavus was wounded and blood trickled down from the wagon; but the ready-witted peasant who drove, slashed one of the horses with his own knife and pointed to that as the source of the stains upon the road. Other escapes of the outlaw were equally wonderful. Swedish romance has delighted to dwell on them.

Then came the Stockholm massacre, in which Gustavus' own father was one of the chief men among the slain. His mother and sisters were with the captives carried to Denmark, where afterward they died. At last Gustavus turned his back upon the land in despair, and began climbing the mountain-passes which should lead him into solitude and safety in upper Norway. But the news of the "bloodbath" had done its work for him. The sturdy mountain peasants of Dalecarlia, ever the wildest and freest of the land, saw at last that submission to King Christian would only involve worse evils. They heard rumor of his threat to cut a hand and foot from each of them. Nothing seemed too hideous to believe of this monster, and they determined to resist to the death. They remembered Gustavus' stirring words, his power and his energy. They wanted him for a leader, and sent messengers, who caught him on the very summit of the mountain-passes. Gustavus returned with them, returned to become King of Sweden and founder of a great dynasty of kings.

At first he had scarcely two hundred followers, but he trained them in warlike arts, and seized outlying fortresses. At length he captured a Danish treasure convoy. His forces increased; the nation heard of him in Stockholm; an army of several thousand Danes was sent against him, and was defeated. The bishop who commanded the Danes expressed his astonishment. "How can this bare region support so many people!" He was told that they lived on water and a bread made from the birch bark. "Then they are indeed unconquerable," he exclaimed, "nor have we aught to gain from them."

Gustavus won another victory, and soon he was besieging Stockholm. At this time occurred the Danish rebellion against Christian. The Danes in Sweden

THE KINGS OF SWEDEN'S POWER

(The Monarchs Who Raised Sweden to a Leading Place in Europe and Under Whom the Land Again Declined)

Designed and arranged for the present series

WHILE Christian II was thus battling in his own land of Denmark, the Swedes again revolted. This time (1523) they achieved complete independence under their celebrated leader Gustavus Vasa. From this period dates their rapid rise to power. Sweden became recognized as one of the leaders of Europe. As for Denmark, civil war reduced her to such weakness that she sank to be a minor power, though she managed to retain her hold on exhausted Norway for centuries, and she still continues to hold the other yet more cold and empty regions of Iceland and Greenland, the last relics of the once mighty "Union of the North."

In Sweden Gustavus Vasa became Gustavus I. His descendants became hereditary kings of the land. The great Charles IX brought the kingdom into prominence as a bulwark of Protestantism in Europe. His son Gustavus Adolphus or Gustavus II was one of the most celebrated generals in history. His successor Charles X was another able king; and then Charles XII, the "madman of the north," made Sweden feared by all Europe. His wars exhausted his country; and with Russia's rise to power Sweden sank into feebleness. Gustavus III and Gustavus IV both struggled ably to defend their kingdom, but Russia and then Napoleon proved too strong for them; and finally Napoleon's marshal Bernadotte was placed upon the throne and became the ancestor of her present kings.

X-54

Charles IX
Eric XIV
Charles X
Gustavus IV
Gustavus I
Oscar II
Charles XII
Charles XI
Gustavus II
Gustavus III
Frederick I
Bernadotte

As early as 1523 there was a great "disputation" held at Upsala between Catholic and Protestant divines over which Gustavus presided; and he declared the Protestants the winners. In his wanderings and during his stay in Denmark, he had grown to favor the doctrines of the Reformation. Moreover he found in his bishops little loyalty to Sweden and much to Rome, hence, partly perhaps from belief, partly from policy, he deprived the Catholic clergy bit by bit of their privileges and possessions. Rebels against Rome were given high office in the King's Church, until before his death Sweden had become a thoroughly Protestant domain.

The struggle did not lack its martyrs. Two of the foremost of the Catholic clergy, Chancellor Peder and Martin Knut, withdrew into Norway sooner than yield to Gustavus. He insisted on their being surrendered to him; they were driven in scorn through the streets of Stockholm, mounted upon sorry nags, and finally executed after a mockery of a trial (1527).

One wise step taken by Gustavus was the abolishment of the old elective form of the kingship, which had caused its weakness. He made the throne hereditary in his own family. He could not, however, control the character of his descendants. Three of his five sons ultimately succeeded him on the throne; and of these only one, the youngest, inherited in any degree the ability or vigor of the father.

Eric, the eldest son, succeeded his father in 1560 as Eric XIV. He was in some respects intellectually brilliant, but so erratic, extravagant and even silly, that many people believed him insane. Perhaps that was why he could get no queen to share his throne. His matrimonial efforts were certainly strenuous and deserving of better success. He wooed half a dozen princesses at once. Mary Queen of Scots, was one of those thus honored. So was Queen Elizabeth of England, to visit whom he prepared a fleet and splendid retinue, assuring her by letter that all his other matrimonial advances were only to veil his political designs, while she was the real object of his affections and goal of his desires. Before his expedition could sail, he had changed his mind, and addressed a German princess of Hesse, and then a French one of Lorraine. In the end he took for his mistress a peasant girl whom he saw standing in the marketplace of Stockholm, and in the last year of his reign he married her.

It was not to be expected that a king of such type would long escape war abroad or revolt at home. His war with Denmark deserves remembrance only as one of the most causeless and culpable ever waged. The ancient ill-feeling between the two lands had almost died out during Gustavus' long and peaceful reign. But now, in the very year of Eric's accession, a new and youthful prince came also to the Danish throne. This was Frederick II, who distinguished himself by raking up the old Danish grudge against the Ditmarshers. He was determined to extinguish the disgrace of a defeat two generations old; and taking advantage of a dry

PROTESTANTISM ENTERS SWEDEN

(Gustavus Vasa Presides Over the Disputation at Upsala)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, C. G. Hellquist, done at Paris in 1883

WHEN Gustavus Vasa had after an heroic struggle driven the Danes from Sweden, his people insisted on making him king. He was a mere youth and modestly urged that another and older man be chosen in his stead. But few of the older nobles had been left alive by Christian's grim tyranny; and the peasantry whom Gustavus had marshalled against the Danes swore in a body that they would trust no other leader. So Gustavus accepted the kingship, and he held it worthily.

The young king had already spent some time in Denmark and Germany as a prisoner under Christian and a fugitive from him; and in these lands the unhappy exile had heard much of Luther's vast movement for the reforming of religion. So scarcely had Gustavus accepted his throne when he arranged for a formal disputation to be held before him in the great church halls of Upsala, between the Catholic or established Swedish clergy and the Protestants. After listening well, Gustavus declared that the Protestants should be free to preach in his land.

In the years that followed the young king threw his influence more and more upon the Protestant side. His reign was long, and by the time of his death in 1560 Sweden had become completely Protestant.

But the son was dead. "Then you must all die," cried Eric in a frenzy, and fled wildly out of the tower and out of the city. He despatched servants to complete the slaughter of the Stures; and afterward he wandered through the woods for days wringing his hands and lamenting his hard fate. His counsellors could not persuade him to return; but finally his peasant mistress drew him back, and he rode into the city garbed as a penitent, mumbling prayers, and raising his arms to heaven for forgiveness.

It was not difficult for John, the schemer, to have Eric declared insane and to depose him from the throne. "I was only insane once," said Eric looking John in the face, "and that was when I released you and your false wife from prison."

The defiance, if true, was hardly wise. John hated Eric and haled him from one fortress to another, encouraging his jailers in the cruelties inflicted on their helpless victim. Eric, upheld by the devotion of his peasant wife, bore everything with dignity and fortitude. He cultivated music in his solitude, and wrote a very readable book of meditations. John seemed always in a panic of terror lest the deposed monarch should escape, forced him to sign repeated renunciations of the throne, and finally had him poisoned.

King John (1568–1592) brought two new elements into his country's history: first, a religious reaction with its natural result of deeper religious intensity, and second, the long antagonism against Russia, the strife with her for possession of the east coast of the Baltic. The Poles were already at war with Russia; and John, devoted and admiring husband of a Polish princess, must needs take part with them. Even during the reign of Gustavus, John as Duke of Finland had begun intriguing against Russia. Now he engaged in open war, in which upon the whole he had the advantage, though the barbaric Russians desolated most of Finland, burning their prisoners alive.

It was under the influence of his Polish wife that John attempted to lead his subjects slowly back to Catholicism, adopting a middle course which pleased nobody. He invented a ritual of his own, and punished both Catholics and Protestants for refusing to employ it. John's eldest son, Sigismund, was educated as a Catholic and was elected King of Poland; so that it became clear to Swedish Protestants that on John's death they would be in even worse plight, subject to a king fully Catholic, obstinate as his father, and master of foreign troops with which to coerce them at his will.

In this extremity, they turned to Charles, the youngest son of Gustavus. Some writers have seen in Charles a most ambitious and far-sighted hypocrite, determined from childhood to grasp the throne, and working toward it through many subtle ways. Others have found him the echo of his father, resolute only to do his duty as he saw it, as honest as he was strong and wise. He had been but a boy at his father's death, and had followed John in opposing Eric's extravagances.

John had then refused Charles his promised share in the government, but the lad remained loyal. From the first however, Charles had announced his firm devotion to the religious forms established by his father; and, as John carried his changes further and further, the ducal court of Charles grew to be regarded as the stronghold of Protestantism in Scandinavia. Foreign rulers became his correspondents, including Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, and the German princes. He was repeatedly urged to seize the throne from John, as John had snatched it from Eric.

Charles, however, went no farther than to refuse to allow the religious changes to take effect in his duchy of southern Sweden. When John died (1592), Charles as regent summoned a council, but made no effort to seize the throne, and Sigismund was declared king. Before the new monarch arrived from his Polish domains a famous resolution was passed at Upsala in 1593, declaring that Sweden was to remain unchangeably Protestant. Charles required each member present to swear to maintain this resolution with his life, and the date of its adoption is celebrated by the Swedish church to-day as the most important of its centenaries.

The Upsala resolution did not meet Sigismund's views at all, and his brief reign was almost wholly occupied with a struggle against it. In truth he was seldom in Sweden. He preferred Poland, where his subjects were in harmony with him, and left Charles to act as regent and practical king among the Swedes. More than once the Swedish council warned the king that if he did not spend part of his time in Sweden, he would be deposed. In 1598, he brought a Polish army into Sweden, but Charles defeated it and was hailed as a worthy successor to his father, a second savior of his country from a foreign yoke.

At length in 1600, the threat of deposition was actually carried out against Sigismund, without eliciting even a remonstrance from that easy-going sovereign. Charles was obviously next in line for the kingship, and though he was not actually crowned as Charles IX until 1604, his reign is usually reckoned from Sigismund's deposition in 1600, if not from the even earlier date of the Upsala Resolution. As regent he had driven the Russians out of Finland and compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty over Esthonia. Livonia had already been won during John's reign, so the victories of Charles made the whole upper part of the Baltic a Swedish lake.

Charles IX completed the task Gustavus had begun. He raised his country to the rank of a great power. He was recognized as one of the leading monarchs of Europe, a bulwark of the Protestant cause. His only son, Gustavus Adolphus, was trained by him from early childhood to uphold that cause. It is scarcely too much to say that upon the course chosen by these two depended the religious future of Europe.

SWEDEN'S CATHOLIC MARTYRS

(The Defiant Churchmen Dragged Through Stockholm in Ridicule Before Their Execution)

From a painting by C. G. Hellquist in 1879. The original is now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE struggle between the Catholics and Protestants in Sweden was at least as much political as it was religious. The young king Gustavus had found himself in a position of extreme difficulty at the opening of his reign. He had no money; the Swedish law exempted both nobles and clergy from the payment of any taxes; and the peasantry were now utterly impoverished. Both the church and the nobles refused Gustavus's demands for money, until he threatened in his disgust to resign his throne and leave all these selfish aristocrats to the fury of the peasants. Then both lords and priests consented to be taxed, but only very grudgingly; and they were always planning to escape further concessions. Thus Gustavus found himself perforce fighting the church.

Bit by bit he took from the defenseless churchmen their privileges and their property. The Catholic cause was not without its martyrs. In 1527 two of its leaders, Chancellor Peder and Bishop Knut withdrew from Sweden sooner than yield to the king's commands. Gustavus pursued them, compelled their surrender, and had them driven on horseback in mockery through the streets of Stockholm. Then they were tried as traitors and executed.

GUSTAVUS WELCOMED BY THE GERMAN CITIES (*From a contemporary print*)

Chapter VII

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

[*Special Authorities:* Chapman, "Gustavus Adolphus"; Bourne, "Life of Gustavus Adolphus"; Stevens, "History of Gustavus Adolphus"; Trench, "Gustavus Adolphus in Germany"; Le Royer de Pradé, "History of Gustavus Adolphus"; De Flaux, "History of Sweden under the House of Vasa"; Slange, "King Christian IV."]

THE vast religious contest of 1618–1648, the Thirty Years' War, which so devastated and altered Germany, had a profound effect upon the two Scandinavian monarchies. Both of them were sooner or later dragged into the terrific struggle. Denmark, while it had not advanced so rapidly as Sweden during the sixteenth century, had not been without progress of its own. Its kings were a succession of Christians and Fredericks, these two names becoming an established formula, so that even to-day each monarch on ascending the throne discards his own proper name and adopts either of these alternately.

Christian III, the son and successor of the usurper who had seized the crown in 1523, made several important changes in Denmark. In 1536, he followed the example set by Gustavus Vasa in Sweden, and established Protestantism as the religion of the state. Christian, after imprisoning all the bishops who protested, took possession of the vast properties of the Church. He purchased the support of his powerful nobility by granting them one-third of the confiscated revenues; one-third he retained for uses of state, and the remainder was allowed for the support of the Protestant churches and ministers. At the same time Christian endeavored to have the monarchy made hereditary, and thus save future kings from the suicidal grants by which his ancestors had been compelled to pur-

chase the throne from the nobility. In this he was only partly successful, but he secured at least a promise that his own son should succeed him. In Norway he carried out his wishes by force, overthrew entirely the elective right of the council there and caused a law to be passed declaring Norway an inalienable part of the Danish monarchy, "the same as Jutland, Funen, Zealand or Scania."

Christian III died in 1559, the year before Gustavus Vasa, and these two vigorous rulers were followed by their young and heedless sons, who squandered the power and the wealth the fathers had accumulated. Of Eric's extravagances in Sweden we have already heard, and the Danish king was that Frederick II who fought against him the inexcusable Seven Years' War of the North.

Frederick was succeeded in turn by his son Christian IV, who is accounted by the Danes the most able and honorable of all their Oldenburg monarchs, though his evil fortune brought the land almost to ruin.

Christian IV was only a child of eleven when he came to the throne (1588), and his long reign saw five different monarchs on the Swedish throne. With every one of these he had disputes, though actual war did not develop until 1611, the closing year of the reign of Charles IX. Christian was an adventurer and explorer, who loved to do things for himself. He could fence and fight and ride and swim, and talk in many languages. He learned to build ships with his own hand, and modelled the chief vessel of his navy. He explored the Arctic coast of Scandinavia, that he might personally settle the northern boundary line between Norway and Sweden, which was much disputed, valueless as were the icy wastes through which it extended. He planned bridges and fortifications, founded military and naval colleges, created a standing army, and built palaces and public buildings to adorn his capital. He encouraged trade, founded the Danish East India Company, and made Danish settlements in India. He extended his sovereignty over the vast American continent-island of Greenland, so that in the days of his prosperity the flag of Denmark was seen in all waters, and the land bade fair to take its place among the great commercial nations of the earth.

Two things united to bring all Christian's plans and efforts to failure in the end. He lacked the wisdom to abstain from war; and he had not the strength to crush the ever-increasing power and selfishness of the Danish nobles. The latter were roused against him by his attempts to better the condition of the peasantry. The gulf between lord and serf was gradually lessened by the king's liberal laws and benefactions. The nobles, seeing this, grew more and more determined in their opposition to all his wishes.

Then his wars! In 1611, Charles IX of Sweden being old and his son Gustavus still a boy, Christian deemed the opportunity favorable for acquiring that military success so strangely miscalled "glory." By reasserting the ancient Danish claim to sovereignty over the whole Baltic Sea, he forced Sweden into the war of

MADNESS OF KING ERIC

(The King Imprisons the Loyal Noble, Nils Sture, and Slays Him)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, G. von Cederstrom, in the State Museum at Upsala

THE great Gustavus Vasa made the kingship of Sweden hereditary in his own family, and was succeeded on the throne by three of his sons in succession. First came the eldest son Eric, who ruled for only eight years. King Eric during the early years of his reign was rather light and frivolous; but gradually he became suspicious of everybody around him and his ill humor grew until it became a positive mania. What had been extravagance became insanity. He especially suspected his nobles, and so had all the members of the great Sture family arrested together. The Stures were the chief house of the Swedish nobility, descendants of the celebrated Sten Sture, who had been the people's patriotic leader before Gustavus. In truth the Stures had been most loyal to Gustavus, his chief aids, and now the active head of the house, Nils Sture, had served King Eric faithfully.

Eric in one of his mad fits burst into the cell of Nils Sture to accuse him. Nils protested his patriotism and offered the king his own dagger to slay him if there was any proof of his treachery. Eric, snatching the weapon, did indeed slay his prisoner. Then he repented, but too late; and fearing the vengeance of the Stures, he had the entire family slain.

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Kalmar. King Charles, seeing the approaching storm-clouds that hung above all Protestant Europe, unwilling that the two Protestant powers of Scandinavia should weaken each other by reviving their ancient enmity, sought every means to secure peace through skillful negotiations. When Christian insisted upon war, Charles, old as he was, challenged his adversary to decide their dispute by the ancient fashion of personal combat, which would leave their kingdoms unharmed. Christian laughed at the "dotard" as he called him, and the struggle dragged on for two years. It is mainly memorable because in it the youthful Gustavus, Sweden's most celebrated king, first learned the art of war. Despite his youth, he maintained himself successfully against his renowned adversary. The heroic and romantic incidents of the strife recall the earlier days of viking battle. Once Christian's life was saved by a follower, who gave up his own horse to the king, and then held back an advancing band of Swedes while his sovereign escaped. At another time Gustavus was rescued by a Swedish knight from the advancing Danes, when he had fallen through the ice over which he tried to escape. In 1613 the war was ended by a truce which made little change in the situation of either land.

In 1618 began the Thirty Years' War of Germany, in which both of these Northern kings took part, and which was to be the ruin of Christian though he survived the struggle, and the glory of Gustavus though he perished in its battles. The war began in southern Germany, and not until 1623 did its tumult cross the Scandinavian border. Then the Protestant princes of North Germany, unable longer to maintain themselves against the Catholic forces of the Emperor, called on Christian for help. The Danish king must have suspected the hollowness of his own apparent power. He had a strong army and a splendid fleet, but he knew of the disaffection of his nobles. Their disloyalty had hampered him seriously in the Kalmar war, yet now, relying on their cooperation, he plunged into this far greater contest.

His nobles betrayed him; his German allies left him to bear the brunt of battle. Yet by his own heroic exertions he for three years maintained the unequal strife against the celebrated German generals Wallenstein and Tilly. His fleet retained control of the Baltic, but gradually all his dominions on the mainland fell into the hands of Wallenstein. With his land ravaged and his forces exhausted, Christian yielded in despair and accepted such terms of peace as the foe would grant. Pledging himself never again to interfere in the affairs of Germany, he set himself to recuperate as best he could his desolate and exhausted land.

Let us follow Christian's career to the end. For fourteen years he labored to restore prosperity to Denmark. As Sweden rose to greater and greater heights through her victories in Germany, he became fearful of her power. He endeavored by diplomatic negotiations to thwart and lessen her advance. At length

so angered did the Swedes become against him that in 1643, without waiting for a declaration of war, they invaded his territories. Christian had long foreseen the falling of this blow. He had repeatedly entreated his royal council and his nobles to prepare against it, but they had refused.

Once more the main peninsula of Denmark fell into the possession of a cruelly ravaging foe. And this time the northern province of Scania was invaded also. Nothing was left to Christian but his fleet, with which he conducted an heroic defense. The navies of Sweden and Holland were combined against him. With inferior forces he attacked them in the great sea-fight of Colberg (1644). In this celebrated battle the aged king was repeatedly wounded, but he fought on, directing the battle from his mighty flagship the "Trinity," which he had built himself. At length he fell unconscious to the deck; a cannon-shot had hurled a mass of splinters into his face, tearing it terribly and destroying an eye. His crew cried out that he was dead, but the brave king staggered to his feet and rallied them. "No," he said, "God has still spared me life and strength to defend our country, if only you will do the same."

He won the victory; and the tale of this great fight is still sung to-day as the national anthem of Denmark. It begins,

"King Christian by the high mast stood."

It was impossible, however, for the few faithful Danes to continue to defend their land against her many enemies; and in 1645 the King concluded another ruinous peace, which brought Denmark to a low level indeed. Three years later Christian died. No monarch has ever led his country through more varied fortunes, been more loved by his common people or more foolishly antagonized by an arrogant and contemptible nobility.

Turn now to Gustavus of Sweden, who succeeded where Christian had failed, and changed the fortunes of the Thirty Years' War in favor of the Protestants. Gustavus, from childhood, had been trained by his father to look upon himself as the destined savior of Protestantism. For this express purpose had Sweden been prepared and made strong by the far-seeing Charles. She had become a military monarchy. A century of the rule of the vigorous Vasa kings had changed the selfish arrogance of her wild nobles into an enthusiasm for warlike glory in the service of their chief.

Gustavus conducted four wars in all. The first, that of Kalmar, was forced upon him by Denmark when, as a mere lad of sixteen, he came into his inheritance (1611). The second was with Russia, which had been for some years in a state of anarchy, with a dozen pretenders striving for its throne. One of these was a Swedish prince, upheld by the Swedish government. Ultimately the founder of the present Romanoff dynasty succeeded in establishing himself as Czar. Mean-

ERIC FORCED TO ABDICATE

(Eric's Treacherous Brother John Extorts From Him the Repeated Signing of His Abdication)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, G. von Rosen

THROUGH all King Eric's suspicious moods, the man he dreaded most was his own younger brother, John. He kept John in confinement for some years, and having proof of his treachery, planned to execute him, but was always turned from this purpose by family affection. At length the weak king allowed John to go free. John promptly gathered a party who declared the king to be insane, seized him and forced him to abdicate. Then John achieved the goal for which he had long secretly schemed and was made king.

King John kept his deposed brother in close confinement. Fearing the vengeance of the people, he hesitated to kill the unhappy madman, but continued in a frenzied sort of way to compel him to sign repeated oaths of abdication, each one more stringent and more vehement than the preceding. The only person who stayed by Eric in his downfall was his peasant wife, a young girl from Stockholm, whom he had married just before his deposition. During the early years of his reign Eric had talked of marrying one foreign princess after another, including the great Queen Elizabeth of England; but all had feared him because of his reputed insanity. So ultimately he married the peasant lass, who proved his only consolation in his fall. King John finally had him poisoned.

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while, King Gustavus fought two campaigns in Russia in support of his countryman and secured the surrender to Sweden of the district around the present site of St.Petersburg, the provinces of Ingermanland and Karelia (1617). In reporting the result of his efforts to the Swedish diet, Gustavus showed a deep realization of the growing strength of Russia and the need of keeping her from the Baltic Sea. His acquisition had temporarily accomplished this, had pushed back her frontier to a distance of many leagues from its coast, "and this," he said, "we will hope may by God's help prove too wide a jump even for a Russian."

More serious and more desperately contested was his war with Poland, whose ruler was his cousin Sigismund, the deposed King of Sweden. Sigismund, easy-going as he was, had never wholly given up his pretensions to Gustavus' crown, and continued with nagging persistence to send manifestoes to the people of Sweden, seeking to sow discontent among them, and commanding them to obey him as their rightful sovereign. The district of Courland, southeast of the Baltic, had long been in special dispute between the two kingdoms, and Gustavus resolved to punish Sigismund by pushing the contest there vigorously. He soon drove out the Poles; and, as their claim upon all Sweden was still maintained, he advanced his victorious arms into Poland itself and into Polish Prussia. So striking was the personal contrast between the two monarchs, that the Poles openly preferred Gustavus. A party of their nobles even declared him elected to their throne; and as he rode through Polish Russia, the peasants crowded around him crying, "Here is *our* King!"

Four successful campaigns did Gustavus lead against the Poles. He almost won possession of their capital. But imperial Germany was awake to the rising power of this "Lion of the North." The Thirty Years' War was in full progress, and the Catholic Emperor had well-nigh crushed the Protestant princes. Christian of Denmark had gone to their aid. To prevent Gustavus from doing the same, Imperial troops were despatched to aid the Poles against him, and thus keep him occupied. Even with this addition to his forces, Sigismund could not match his rival, and in 1629 consented to a peace by which he not only formally resigned all claim to the Swedish throne, but also yielded Courland and a considerable part of Polish Prussia to Gustavus. If the position of these territories be noted on the map, it will be seen how Sweden under the Vasas was gradually extending its sovereignty around the Baltic, enclosing in its grip the northeast coast, then the east, and now reaching toward the south.

Gustavus dreamed of a great Scandinavian empire. So amiably and with such generosity did he manage his negotiations with Poland, that it was very generally agreed that he should be elected king there upon the death of the aged Sigismund. Still another reason why he was lenient and eager to hurry forward this peace, was that the momentous hour of decision had come for him, the hour in

which, if ever, he must take up that lifework which his father had prepared for him, and which vague prophecies had foretold. He must assume the high position of leader and protector of Protestantism in Europe. As such he must defy almost the entire force of the German Empire.

It was not a moment which most men would have chosen, to intrude upon the German quarrel. The gallant Christian of Denmark had been overwhelmed, so completely defeated that he sued for a most humiliating peace. The Protestants of the Empire were driven to despair. The Imperial power stood stronger than it had for centuries, and in Wallenstein and Tilly the Emperor possessed two generals whose illustrious military fame has not been dimmed by the passage of three centuries.

Yet Gustavus had confidence in himself, in his cause, and in his people. He was statesman as well as general—and a hero also. He took up the cause of which all others had despaired. First, however, he made careful and successful alliances. The German Protestant princes eagerly promised him aid. England sent him a few thousand troops, though in a roundabout way, so that she could appear to have been neutral if matters should go badly. Most valuable of all to a poor and barren land like Sweden, France, Catholic France, guaranteed him money, so long as he maintained the war. The far-sighted French minister, Richelieu, dreaded the rapidly increasing power of the Emperor, and meant to keep alive the desolating war in Germany, even at the guilt of upholding Protestants.

At home, Gustavus had the support of his entire kingdom. With rare wisdom he had selected the ablest men as his assistants. Never was monarch better served. Sweden stood as one man behind its hero. In the fall of 1629, he devoted himself solemnly to his great cause, and entrusted the government of the kingdom to his chancellor and friend, Axel Oxenstjerna, who shares with him the glory of his reign. The King's only child, his daughter Christina, was declared his heir if he should never return, and with fifteen thousand of his picked Swedish troops he departed for Germany.

The Emperor's courtiers laughed when they heard of his approach. "Another of these snow-kings has come against us," they said, meaning that his forces would dwindle in the southward advance and dissolve and disappear as other armies had done before. The German princes who had promised Gustavus alliance, left him as they had left Christian, to fight alone. The Imperial troops under Tilly sacked the great Protestant city of Magdeburg almost before his face, while he was powerless to interfere.

Then Gustavus took a resolute course. Marching his troops to the capital of the nearest Protestant prince, he compelled him to declare himself for or against the cause. Seeing no escape, the timid ruler bade his troops join Gustavus, and

REPULSE OF THE POLISH INVADERS

(A Swedish King Leads the Poles to Invade His Own Country)

After a painting by Herman Prell, of Danzig

THERE was yet a third son of the great Gustavus Vasa who came ultimately to the throne. This was the noted sovereign Charles IX, the only son who seems to have inherited his father's greatness. Charles made no effort to snatch the throne from either of his elder brothers. He did, however, strive to restrain the excesses of them both. King John after killing King Eric became morbidly repentant; he talked of entering the church as a monk. He sought to restore the Catholic religion in Sweden, and thus antagonized almost all his people, who were now firmly Protestant. Moreover John brought up his son Sigismund as a Catholic and got the youth elected King of Poland; so that when John died, Sigismund became the lord of both countries, with a Catholic army of Poles to compel Sweden to obey his religious commands.

Then and then only did his Uncle Charles take action. Charles headed his countrymen in a declaration that they would remain Protestant. King Sigismund responded by leading a Polish army to invade Sweden; and thus the first clash between these two peoples was ordered by the king of both. Charles gathered the Swedes against the half Asiatic invaders and defeated them. His people then elected him king in Sigismund's stead. As King Charles IX, he became one of the leaders of Europe.

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at Leipzig the Swedish king attacked Tilly in the first of the great battles of the war. In numbers the two armies were about equal, but as Gustavus' German allies fled before the first assault of Tilly's veterans, the Swedes were really outnumbered almost two to one. But their valor and their leader's generalship won them a decisive victory.

Gustavus had proved himself. The Swedes were at once acclaimed as the finest soldiers in Europe. All Protestant Germany, seeing at last some promise of success, flocked to the standard of this new champion. He attacked Tilly again at the passage of the river Lech. The dreaded Imperial general was slain, and his army scattered to the winds.

All central Germany now lay open to Gustavus. For the moment there was no one to oppose him, and his passage was a triumphal progress. City after city handed him its keys, the Catholics with prayers for mercy, the Protestants with prayers of joy. As this huge, blond-bearded giant of a king passed along the roads, the country folk knelt before him in thanksgiving. "These people," said he deeply touched, "worship me as a god." And never was conqueror more merciful or more watchful of the interests of the helpless.

In this truly glorious advance he reached as far as Nuremberg. All Protestant Germany lay rescued behind him; but his most dangerous foe was still to be encountered. Wallenstein, the victorious, the unconquerable, the so-called favorite of devils, had been dismissed from the Imperial service, the Emperor fearing lest this dark and impenetrable servant might even aspire to the throne. Wallenstein was now recalled, entreated to save the Empire and granted every power that he asked. Raising an immense and terrible army as only he could raise one, he threw himself across the path of Gustavus. Through a memorable campaign, the two maneuvred brilliantly against each other. At last the final clash of arms came at Lutzen (1632).

Lutzen is one of the most celebrated battles of history. Wallenstein was defeated; his troops fled in utter rout, but Gustavus was slain. His one fault as a general had ever been that he exposed himself too rashly on the field. The old fighting blood of the viking race was strong in him, and he was always eager to be wielding weapons with his own good hands. Not only in that first war with Denmark had he run desperate risks; a dozen times in his Polish campaign he had been close to death. He had been wounded in head and body, horses had been repeatedly slain under him, he had grappled bodily with foes dragging him off to capture. Perhaps only thus could he have won such utter devotion from his soldiers, only thus have trained them to that calm scorn of danger which made them irresistible. But at Lutzen he took at last one chance too many. Almost alone he galloped recklessly from one body of his troops toward another, crossing a region swept by the enemy's fire. Two shots struck him; and as he sought feebly

to ride away from the zone of death, a little troop of German cavalry surrounded him and cut him down. Instead of retreating at the news, his entire army charged madly at the foe for vengeance, swept them from the field, and pursued them with slaughter far into the darkness of the night.

Vast possibilities, vast plans—only he himself could say how vast—perished with Gustavus. The war did not end, but it assumed a more equal balance. His little daughter inherited his throne; his trusted chancellor, Oxenstjerna, governed as regent; generals trained under the eye of Gustavus commanded his armies and proved not unworthy pupils in conducting the unequal strife. All went on as he had arranged that it should go, only he, the master, was no longer there.

Wallenstein fought no more after his one defeat. Two years later he was slain by some of his own officers on a charge of seeking to seize a kingdom for himself. No other German general could oppose the Swedes. They penetrated almost to Vienna, and would have captured it had not France suddenly withheld her promised aid. Richelieu feared his allies were being too successful. The German princes also were unwilling to crush the Emperor too completely, and drew back from aiding these terrible Swedes. Denmark joined the attack upon them, though with such poor success as we have already seen.

The war drifted on for years in a rather purposeless way. The Swedes won victory after victory with only one or two defeats; but they grew fewer and fewer in number, too few to conquer the Empire, too few even to hold such districts as they had mastered, and finally in 1648, the celebrated treaty of Westphalia settled all disputes and restored peace to distracted Europe. Sweden received a big indemnity and gained extensive territories along the northern German coast, including Western Pomerania and other districts. More than ever did her territories seem extending to enclose the entire Baltic Sea and to make of it a Swedish lake. But these rewards were poor compensation for what the sparsely peopled Swedish homeland had lost, the lives of so many of her bravest, ablest, and most loyal sons.

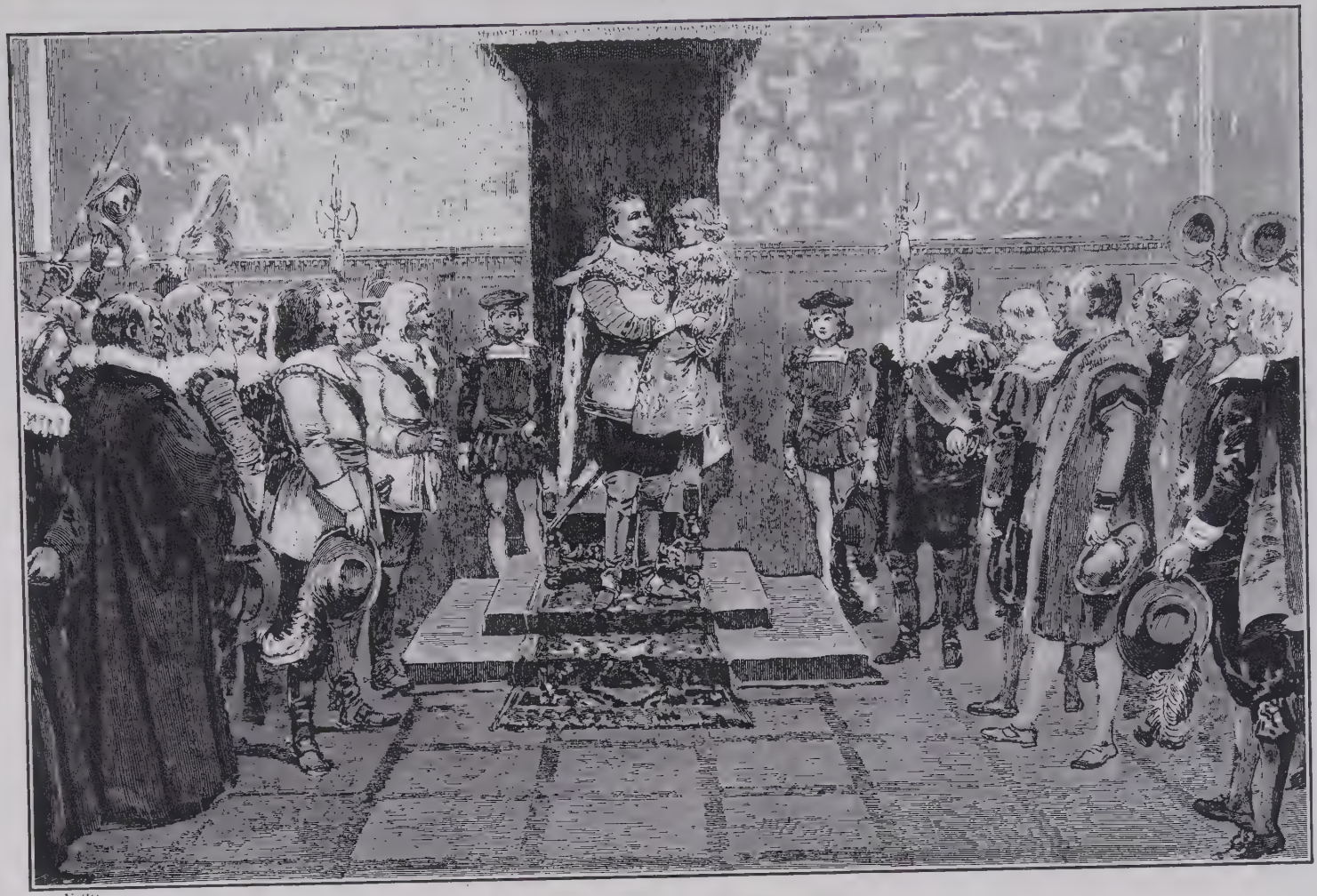
FAREWELL OF GUSTAVUS TO SWEDEN

(Gustavus Adolphus Leaves His Little Daughter and Sets Forth to Fight for Protestantism)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, E. Linders, made at Stockholm in 1899

CHARLES IX was succeeded on the throne of Sweden by his even more noteworthy son Gustavus Adolphus. Gustavus came to the throne in the year 1611, when the religious troubles of Europe had risen to their fullest and were about to burst forth into the terrible "Thirty Years War." Of this, Gustavus was the chief hero.

He had first, however, to maintain himself against Denmark. In that land a warrior king had arisen, Christian IV, an eager seeker after military glory. Christian, thinking Gustavus young and inexperienced, fairly forced a war upon him. In this, the two Scandinavian powers exhausted each other, without cause and without result, until Christian, finding his young opponent quite a match for him, consented to a peace. Then Christian threw himself into the Thirty Years War as a leader of the north Germans in the Protestant cause. He was defeated by the Catholic Germans, and Denmark was reduced to utter exhaustion. Protestantism seemed on the point of being hopelessly crushed out. So Gustavus brought Sweden to the rescue. By this time he had been king for nearly twenty years; he had slowly and carefully developed the resources of his land; he had trained his soldiers to perfection; and he led them forth solemnly as to a holy war. He had no sons to leave in charge of his kingdom, only a little daughter, Christina. So with solemn farewell to her, entrusting her to his ablest counsellors, he set forth upon his great undertaking against the might of the German Emperor.



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Bearing Home The Body of Charles XII

Chapter VIII

THE ZENITH OF SWEDISH POWER AND ITS DECLINE UNDER CHARLES XII

[*Special Authorities:* King Oscar II of Sweden, "Charles XII"; Voltaire, "History of Charles XII"; D'Alembert, "Memoirs and Reflection on Christina of Sweden"; Lacombe, "History of Christina"; Bain, "Christina Queen of Sweden," "Charles XII"; Alderfeldt, "Military History of Charles XII"; Alberg, "Charles XII"; Browning, "Charles XII"; Coxe, "Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough"; Robinson, "Account of Sweden in 1717."]

THE general peace of 1648 left Sweden one of the chief powers of Europe; but she had not yet reached her greatest territorial expanse. Neither was this attained under Christina, the daughter of Gustavus, though she was assuredly one of the ablest women of her day, and one of the most spectacular figures that have ever flashed across the page of history. Gustavus Adolphus, his father Charles IX, and his grandfather Gustavus I present to us three successive generations of remarkable ability, perhaps even of the highest genius, in the house of Vasa. Christina, sole direct representative of the fourth generation, was not lacking in the insight, the courage and the intellectual power of her race; but she had not their steadiness of purpose, and so her career became not glorious but only *bizarre*.

Upon the course of Sweden in the Thirty Years' War Christina exercised little influence because of her youth. The struggle was carried on and the peace terms arranged by the famous chancellor Oxenstjerna. Before the war had quite reached its close, the queen, at the age of eighteen (1644), was given the full royal authority. But she showed no interest in the serious work of government; and while wisely continuing her old

and trusted ministers in office, she devoted her own career to pleasure. Her amusements were at first those of harmless vanity, but they soon began to transgress the bounds of decency. She lavished enormous gifts of the crown lands upon unworthy favorites. She seriously embarrassed the finances of the kingdom. When her counsellors remonstrated, she threatened to resign her crown; and such was the devotion to her father, still warm in the hearts of the nation, that this threat brought the sternest of her lecturers to submission. They entreated her to marry, but she persistently refused; and matters grew worse and worse until under her influence the manners of the once staid capital of Stockholm became such as one is pained to contemplate. The protests of the grave Oxenstjerna were distasteful to the gay young queen. She dismissed him from office, and he died in sorrow.

At length, ten years after her accession (1654), Christina actually carried out her threat and with elaborate and solemn ceremony abdicated the throne. She had outworn the patience of her nation; and there were none now to protest, except a few favorites who saw their power slipping from them. That she acted without full meditation and realization of what the change meant, seems evident from the fact that twice afterward she endeavored to win back the crown, and failing that, sought to be elected Queen of Poland. The real motive of her startling act seems to have been partly pique roused by the disapproval of her countrymen, partly a real dislike of the weariness of ruling, and mainly the desire to attract attention, to proclaim herself superior to others, and to enact before the world a drama absolutely unique. She arranged to receive an enormous income from Sweden, and then abandoning the country with expressions of disgust, she became a wanderer through Europe, a queen without a country, a visitor at many courts, received with high honors at first, but so imperious, so dangerous, that by degrees she was barred out of many lands. She settled at Rome, and became a Catholic, renouncing the religion for which her fathers had so heroically striven. She received a pension from the Roman Church, and under its protection she remained, a brilliant, petulant, intriguing power. Old age could not calm her blood nor bring its peaceful repose to her restless brain. Only death released her from that insatiable craving to impress her name upon the world.

Meanwhile the Swedes found themselves much relieved by their queen's desertion. Her cousin, son of the only sister of Gustavus Adolphus, was proclaimed king as Charles X. He also sought the reputation of a conqueror; and after a successful war with Poland, marched his forces suddenly across Prussia against Denmark. The most memorable feature of the brief war that followed, was Charles' spectacular crossing of the Danish straits upon the ice. Over the "Little Belt" between Jutland and Funen, he forced his way in defiance of a Danish army drawn up to oppose him, and despite the weakness of the ice, which broke in places and caused several companies of his troops to be swallowed by the sea. This

GERMANY WELCOMES GUSTAVUS

(The Advance of the Triumphant Swedes Carries Them to Nuremberg)

From a painting by Paul Ritter, of Nuremberg, in 1884

GUSTAVUS led his Swedes into the great German religious war at a time when Protestantism seemed utterly defeated. So fearful had the Protestant princes of Germany become that though they had prayed Gustavus to help them, they dared not help him. They left his Swedes alone to face all the power of the Catholic Emperor.

In this extremity Gustavus proved himself a remarkably able general. He met the Emperor's celebrated general, Tilly, and defeated him in two decisive battles, though the Imperial forces were double the numbers of the Swedes. Gustavus proved himself a statesman also and fairly forced his German Protestant allies to aid him. Then, having swept the German armies from his path, Gustavus advanced in a sort of triumphal progress across all the north of Germany and far into the south. City after city opened its gates to him, the Protestant towns welcoming him as a saviour, and the Catholic ones not daring to oppose him.

The furthest point the Swedes reached in this successful march was Nuremberg, which lies in the very heart of southern Germany. Their hero king was now in a wholly Catholic region; yet even there the people welcomed him not unwillingly, so great had his fame become, both as a soldier and as a wise and generous sovereign who might be trusted to be just to all men.

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remarkable battle ended with the surrender of the entire Danish force; and Charles, pressing forward, crossed without accident the "Great Belt" which separates Funen from Zealand. He was thus enabled to assail Copenhagen in a manner never before attempted, and to besiege it without the aid of a fleet.

The Danes, finding themselves helpless against him, submitted to a peace the most ruinous that had yet been forced upon them (1658). Their ancient possessions upon the Scandinavian peninsula were taken from them for the third time, and were now permanently joined to Sweden. The conqueror was also given possession of several of the Baltic Islands and the northern half of Norway. These latter concessions Sweden soon lost again, but the ancient land of Scania is still hers to-day. The treaty of 1658 saw Sweden at the widest extent of her territorial expansion.

So easy did the partitioning of Denmark seem that Charles X hungered for another slice, and within a year he discovered new cause of quarrel with his victim. Copenhagen was again besieged. The triumphant Swedes threw themselves with eagerness upon this last stronghold of their former foes and ancient oppressors. "We will divide Denmark first," they boasted, "and discuss the causes of the war afterward."

The Danish king, Frederick III, son and successor of Christian IV, found help in his extremity by appealing to Holland and England. They sent ships which aided the Danes in driving off the Swedish fleet; and a large portion of the Swedish army, caught thus in a trap without supplies, was compelled to surrender. Charles X carried the war into Norway. He had one or two successes there, and then he died (1660). The Swedish government hastened to make peace, resigning its hold on northern Norway, but retaining Scania.

Charles X was succeeded on the throne by his son, Charles XI, a child of four, and a long period of comparative peace followed between Sweden and Denmark. Only once was it broken during nearly forty years, and that was when the two lands were forced to take part in the great continental wars that opened the reign of the French monarch, Louis XIV. The Swedes, tempted into an alliance with Louis, sought to aid him by attacking the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg. They were badly defeated at Fehrbellin and elsewhere and lost much of the high military prestige which they had formerly possessed. The Danes were in the alliance against Louis, and their splendid fleet crushed the Swedish navy in a great sea-fight off the island of Oland, the Swedish flagship blowing up at the beginning of the battle. The Danish army however was defeated in a bloody battle in Sweden, so that the strife left the two nations about as before. The districts from which the Swedes were driven in Germany, were restored to them at the peace of Ryswick (1679), Louis XIV insisting that they should not lose by having been his friends.

Much more important to all Scandinavia during this period was the final break-

down of the power of the nobility. We have seen how absolutely they had held control of Denmark. Their opposition had brought disaster to the land under Christian IV, and again in the more recent wars by which Sweden had so nearly completed the conquest of the country. So embittered did the rest of the inhabitants become against these haughty oppressors, that in 1660, when the great council of the kingdom assembled in Copenhagen, there was a sudden, complete, and bloodless revolution. Deputations from the clergy and from the citizens of Copenhagen, the burghers whose sturdy defense of their city had saved Denmark from complete dismemberment, appeared before the king, Frederick III. They entreated him to assume absolute power, to withdraw all the privileges he had been compelled to grant the nobility, and to strike at the very root of the nobles' power by declaring the monarchy hereditary instead of elective. Frederick feared and hesitated; the nobles protested; but the burghers locked the gates of the city and insisted. In the end, secretly aided by the king, they achieved their purpose. The nobles consented to the new order of things, and Denmark became an absolute monarchy, Frederick's power being limited only by such laws and regulations as he himself arranged for the benefit of the three orders, the nobles, the clergy, and the burghers. The peasantry, it should be noted, had no part whatever in the change; they had sunk to the position of mere slaves.

For a time the country prospered under the new order of things, and even the nobles were content. But by degrees Frederick and his successor Christian V laid such heavy taxes upon these former enemies of the throne that they sank into poverty, and Christian completed their ruin by creating a new order of nobility from among the wealthy townsfolk and his German favorites. This new-born and more pliant aristocracy soon completely supplanted the old.

A similar revolution occurred in Sweden. The nobility there had been subdued by Gustavus Vasa; but they had gradually regained power, especially when the death of Gustavus Adolphus left them without adult monarchs of assured right to the succession. Almost the first public act of the child king, Charles XI, after emerging from his minority, was to induce the council of Sweden to join him in passing a law of "reassumption" (1680), by which he was authorized to take back some portion of the crown lands which had been so lavishly scattered by Christina. The early form of this law was very mild, but the king kept increasing its scope by degrees, until he had impoverished all the nobility. The great lords protested repeatedly; but the common people, who both dreaded and hated them, upheld the king, and finally in 1693, a law was passed which made Charles "the sole depository of the sovereign authority, and entitled to govern the realm according to his will and pleasure, without being responsible to any power on earth."

It was to this absolute power over a people who both loved and respected the race of their royal rulers that Charles XII, a boy of fourteen, succeeded on the

PRAYER OF THE SWEDES AT LUTZEN

(Gustavus Before Leading His Troops Into His Last Battle Asks Heaven's Help

From a painting made in 1894 by Wilhelm Rauber

AT Nuremberg, Gustavus knew that he was approaching the crisis of his career. He had completely defeated the Imperial German army; but the Emperor in his extremity had sought aid from Germany's greatest warrior, Wallenstein. This dark and terrible leader of men had been dismissed from the Emperor's service as a traitor; now he was recalled at his own price, and by tremendous effort he raised a new army against Gustavus. During an entire campaign these two remarkable military geniuses maneuvered against each other, until at length, each feeling that there was no further advantage to be gained, they hurled their forces against each other in the great battle of Lutzen (1632).

The troops of Wallenstein were wild adventurers, riotous followers of a master whom they half believed to be the devil. The men of Gustavus looked to their leader almost as a saint. He gathered his cavalry around him in a final prayer to Heaven, and then led them across the plain of Lutzen in a determined charge against the foe.

After a terrific fight the troops of Wallenstein were completely broken and dispersed in flight. But Gustavus himself perished in the moment of victory; and he had been the soul of his army. Protestantism and Catholicism both shrank back dismayed from that stricken field of Lutzen. Victory seemed as costly as defeat.

Rauber. gr. M

death of his father (1697). This is the Charles XII who has become so widely known to other nations as "the madman of the North." He was the last of the series of great military leaders who had raised Sweden to such heights of renown. Under him her overstrained resources gave way at last, and she was plunged into ruin.

A regency was established to govern for the young king till he should be eighteen. But within six months of his accession, he asserted himself, and compelled the annulment of the regency and his own formal coronation. At this ceremony, instead of waiting for the diadem to be placed upon his head, he snatched it from the officiating prelate and crowned himself. The people applauded him. They desired vigorous kings; such had protected them before. The act seemed, however, but a momentary spark of self-assertion; the youthful monarch made no use of his power. He devoted himself to hunting and other sports; he revelled in fine clothes; he acted like the mere boy he was. Observing this, three ancient enemies of the kingdom conspired secretly against him. Sweden's weakness had been fully revealed in the wars of Louis XIV. A feeble kingdom under a childish king offered tempting opportunity for regaining those ancient provinces that she herself had seized by strength of sword. Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, poured his barbarian hordes into Ingermanland to reassert his country's dominion over what was to be the site of his future capital, St. Petersburg. Frederick Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, marched his armies into Livonia, once a Polish dependency. Frederick IV of Denmark attacked certain German districts allied to Sweden (1700).

The plotters had underestimated young Charles. He rose suddenly to the full stature of manhood, put aside forever his boyhood's amusements, and announced to his people that while he would never begin an unjust war, he would never abandon a just one without destroying the aggressor. With the military genius of his great race, he saw at once the weak point in the apparently overwhelming combination against him. Leaving the distant provinces to defend themselves as best they could, he attacked the nearest foe. He besieged Copenhagen, and so vigorously did he press the attack upon it, that King Frederick of Denmark abandoned his distant and ill-advised German expedition, to hurry home. The frightened burghers of Copenhagen paid Charles a large sum as ransom for the city; and the Danish king was glad to patch up a humiliating peace before worse befell.

Having thus detached from the alliance the nearest and most dreaded foe, Charles without loss of time transported his troops across the Baltic against Russia. Peter the Great at the head of eighty thousand troops was besieging Narva, and had reduced it to sore straits. But his army was an undisciplined mob; and, when they learned of the rapid approach of the celebrated Swedish soldiers, they

fell into panic. The young Czar himself deserted the field, leaving the command to a German general whom the Russians distrusted. Charles attacked them like a madman with scarcely six thousand men, and the Russians fled. Thousands were slain, and thousands drowned in a neighboring river. Finding flight impossible, the great bulk of the army surrendered as prisoners. So far did they outnumber their captors, that Charles, fearing they would recover from their terror, hastened to disarm them and order them off to their homes.

This battle of Narva (1700) fixed the eyes of the world on the young Swedish conqueror. The following spring he led his forces into Livonia, drove out the Poles and Saxons who had been harassing it, and pursued them into Poland. Three years were spent in overthrowing the Saxon rulers of that land, and reducing it to a condition of submission; but by 1704, the Poles were so humbled that they took a new king of Charles' selection. He might have had the crown himself, but he affected to despise it.

Had Charles XII but known when to pause he would have been a conqueror indeed; but his successes led him to believe he could accomplish anything. Finding that the Czar's forces still attacked the borderlands in his absence, and that the deposed Saxon king of Poland still annoyed the Poles from his retreat in Saxony, Charles determined to complete the destruction of both of his opponents. In 1706, he braved the wrath of the entire German Empire by crossing its borders and attacking the Saxons in their own country. So great was the acknowledged excellence of the Swedish soldiers, so widespread the terror inspired by Charles himself, that hardly any resistance was offered, and soon Saxony was completely in his hands.

Charles XII was now at the zenith of his power. All Europe feared him. He even exacted concessions from the Emperor. The famous victories of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had just broken the power of Louis XIV; and it was felt that should Charles elect, as his father had done, to ally himself with the French monarch, he might still restore the balance in Louis's favor. The Duke of Marlborough journeyed in person to the Swedish camp to placate the fiery king. But Charles had no thought of aiding France. He had fostered for the Czar Peter, the one enemy he could not reach, a savage and implacable hatred. He was resolved to subjugate Russia, as he had Poland. Beyond that, the vaguest dreams of conquest allured him. He was but a madman after all. He would dethrone the Pope, conquer the Turks, march an army over Persia—as Alexander the Great had done.

Against Russia he advanced in the fall of 1707. He had gathered nearly eighty thousand Swedish troops, the envy and admiration of the world. But Russia is an illimitable wilderness. Napoleon's half million of men were swallowed up in it. The invasion of Charles could only terminate as did the later and vaster one. All

GUSTAVUS RETURNS TO SWEDEN

(The Body of the Hero King Borne Home by His Mourning Comrades)

From a painting by the master of Swedish historical art, C. G. Hellquist

WHEN the great Gustavus fell at Lutzen, he left his purposes only half accomplished. He had saved Protestantism and set it on an equal footing with the older Catholic faith in Germany. But he had dreamed of conquering a permanent peace, whereas now the religious warfare still continued. The devoted soldiers of Gustavus bore his dead body back to Sweden in solemn state. There it was received by his wise chancellor, Oxenstjerna, and by his still tiny daughter Christina, who became Queen of Sweden.

Oxenstjerna continued the religious war in Germany. So great had become the prestige of the resolute Swedish soldiers, that the German armies scarcely dared to face them. These grim, stern-faced veterans won victory after victory. But their numbers had been few even at the start; Sweden was but a sparsely settled land. And now it became evident that the ever-dwindling little army of Swedes could never conquer and hold all Germany. Besides, other nations began to fear these extending conquests and to unite against the Swedes. Even their Protestant allies in Germany deserted them; so that finally they consented to a general peace. They had saved Protestantism; but they had exhausted Sweden, and they had lost Gustavus.

that winter, all the following year, Charles advanced. The Russians fought and were defeated, fell back, and fought again. The next winter came, and the Swedish army had dwindled to a remnant of twenty thousand. They could advance no farther; but their leader, obstinate in adversity, would not retreat. He turned southward, seeking alliance with the Cossacks; but in vain. His troops suffered miseries indescribable, until the Russians put an end to the long agony by making a final successful attack. The Swedish army was overwhelmed by them at Pultowa (1709).

Charles, who had been wounded a few days previously, was carried through this, his last great battle, on a litter. He did all man could do, to urge his soldiers on; but the end had come. With only a few hundred followers he escaped from the disastrous field and fled southward into Turkey. The Sultan received him with honor, as who would not have welcomed so renowned a sovereign? When Peter, who had set his heart on capturing the person of Charles, demanded that he be given up, the Sultan refused. Charles even succeeded in embroiling the two potentates in war, and accompanied the Turkish army on a successful campaign, in which Peter in his turn was close to capture. A contemptuous peace was accorded Russia by the Turks, at which Charles, furious at his enemy's escape, raved in vain. The Sultan in dignified fashion ordered his too assertive and abusive guest to leave Turkey. Charles refused, and with his remaining followers barricaded himself in his mansion, defying the forces sent to evict him.

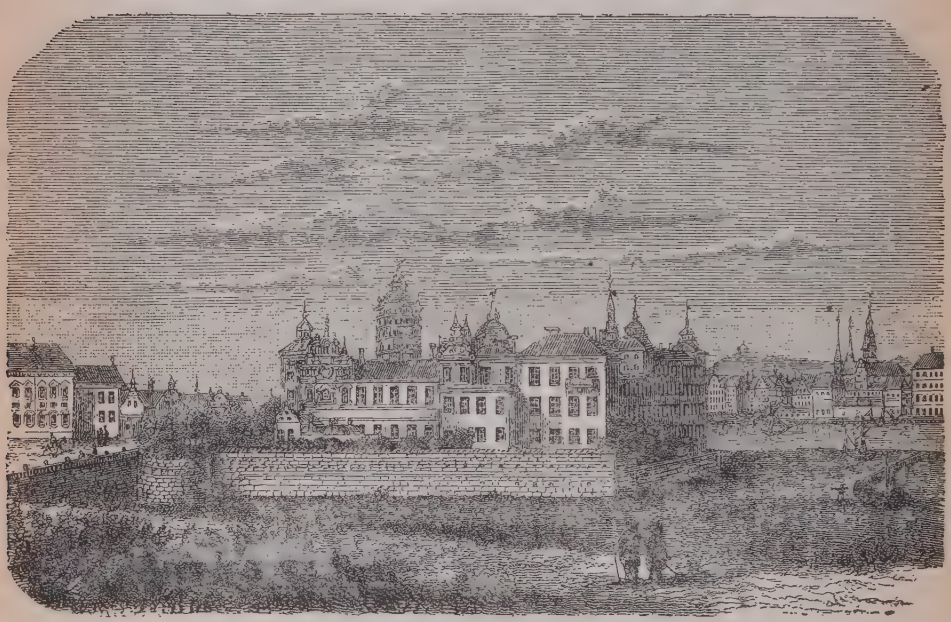
This disgraceful brawl was overlooked by the Sultan, whose admiration for Charles had not wholly faded, and the fugitive Swede was allowed to remain yet a while longer among the Turks. Then hearing that his country was once more being assailed by all his foes, he shook off the lassitude of despair which seemed settling upon him. Unattended and in disguise, he executed a daring ride across the breadth of Europe. Passing like the wind through the realms of his enemies, he appeared suddenly at the gates of his beleaguered fortress of Stralsund (1714).

Six states, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Saxony, Poland, and Hanover, had united to seize what territories they wished from unprotected Sweden. The Swedes, notwithstanding the loss of the flower of their nation in Charles' ill-fated Russian expedition, defended themselves heroically. The seaport of Malmo, the key to the invasion of the land from southward, was taken and retaken. A Danish army was driven out of Sweden. Denmark was invaded and once more ravaged even to the border of Germany, where the city of Altona was burned. But the overwhelming forces of Russia and of the Germans soon enabled them to take possession of all Sweden's territory beyond her own peninsula, except the fortress of Stralsund and one other.

The reappearance of Charles reanimated his people once again; but it also made more determined the effort of the allies to end the war at a blow by the cap-

ture of the king. The siege of Stralsund was kept up with desperate valor upon both sides for over a year. Then, the fall of the fortress having become inevitable, Charles escaped in a fishing-boat to Sweden. Still he struggled; still his enemies encompassed him. His people supported him with the most heroic devotion. So bare was the land stripped of men that there was danger of a famine. The king resorted to negotiations. He attempted to detach Russia from his foes, by granting all she demanded. The project seemed successful, but in the moment of its completion Charles perished. He was attacking the Danes in Norway, besieging the fortress of Fredericshald, when he was shot down by an unknown hand.

His death ended the war. The exhausted Swedes made his sister Ulrica queen, with the express stipulation that peace should be sought on any terms. Most of Sweden's German territories were surrendered. The Russians, who had seized all the provinces east of the Baltic, withdrew reluctantly from Finland, but were allowed to keep their other conquests. Sweden, half depopulated, and reduced to the rank of a minor kingdom, abandoned her insane strife for empire. She sought to secure instead the prosperity which only comes with peace



The Palace of Charles XII at Stockholm

DENMARK'S GREATEST NAVAL VICTORY

(King Christian, Wounded, Wins the Great Sea Fight Off Coburg)

After an antique Danish print

THIS tremendous Thirty Years' War did not end without seeing Denmark and Sweden once more in opposition. That same King Christian of Denmark who had challenged Gustavus to war at the beginning of his reign, remained the warlike champion of Denmark through a reign of sixty years. As the long religious war dragged toward its close, and all the other nations began to unite in fear of the conquering Swedes, King Christian led Denmark also into the league against his ancient enemies. This action was dangerous and reckless, the sort of deed that always appealed to Christian. His land was at once assailed by the combined navies of Sweden and Protestant Holland. Christian met these dangerous foes with a much smaller fleet off the harbor of Coburg.

The Danes still sing with pride of the great victory they gained at Coburg. The battle was desperate. King Christian was sorely wounded in the head; but when his people thought him dying, he rallied and declared that God had spared him so he might save their country from destruction. Then after a solemn prayer he led his men back into the fight, and won it in the end. Yet he could not save exhausted Denmark from yielding to a ruinous peace, by which she surrendered much territory to Sweden.

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BATTLE OF THE DANES AGAINST NELSON

Chapter IX

THE UNION OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY UNDER BERNADOTTE

[*Special Authorities:* Bernadotte's Correspondence; Bain, "Gustavus III and his Contemporaries"; Brown, "Memoirs of the Sovereigns of Denmark"; Hellfried, "The English Attack on Denmark"; Meredith, "Memorials of Charles XIV"; Sheridan, "History of the Late Revolution in Sweden."]

THE ancient glory and greatness of Scandinavia was at an end. From the time of the fall of Charles XII, the political history of all three of the Scandinavian kingdoms becomes a mere pathetic repetition of the hopeless struggles made by the small states of Europe during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to protect themselves against the aggression of the larger Powers. In Sweden this struggle had not even the glow of patriotism to enhance its interest. With the accession of Ulrica, sister of Charles XII, the nobles regained their power. Before admitting her to the throne, they made her agree to a constitution which placed all the authority in the hands of the diet or general council of the kingdom. The queen became a mere figurehead; and even her nominal authority she soon resigned to her husband, a German prince, who as Frederick I reigned from 1720 to 1750.

The only lesson to be gathered from his reign or that of his successor is the danger of party government and the lengths to which partisan animosity may go. The nobles, like every one else in the exhausted country, had become very poor; and finding the government in their possession, they began a disgraceful scramble for the official positions and their perquisites. Two parties sprang up nicknamed the Hats and the Nightcaps, the chief difference of opinion between them being as to which should be permitted to plunder

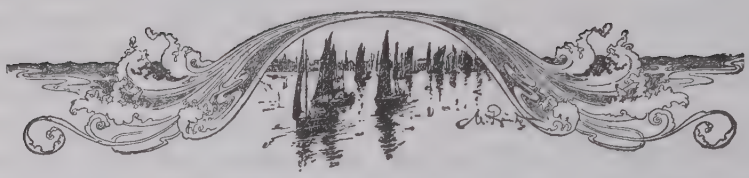
the government. Each side accused the other of treason, and the axe and the block were called into frequent use for judicial murder.

Both France and Russia, the two chief Powers then interested in the North, found it cheaper to bribe Sweden than to fight with her. Many of her officials were almost openly in the employ of one of the rival Powers; some of them managed to draw funds from both. In 1741, the French influence predominated, and the diet proclaimed war against Russia, a mad war for which the state was wholly unprepared, so that the Russian troops had no difficulty in seizing Finland. Part of it they retained; part was restored in return for the obsequious submission of Sweden. The Swedes selected as heir to their childless king a German prince, dictated by the Russians.

This ruler, Adolphus Frederick (1750–1771), followed the course of his predecessor in a comfortable indifference to the miseries of the land over which he possessed no real authority. The nobles clung tenaciously to their monopoly of the government. Even to suggest a change in the constitution was made a crime punishable with death. Sweden joined in the general European attack on Frederick the Great of Prussia in the Seven Years' War (1756–1762). So feeble, however, and even ludicrous were the military efforts of the Swedes that when, in the general peace which Frederick won from his enemies, arrangements with Sweden were proposed, the sarcastic monarch remarked that he had not been aware he was at war with that country.

In 1771, there came a change; King Adolphus Frederick was succeeded by his son, Gustavus III. For the first time in over half a century the Swedes had a king born and reared among them, one who could speak their language, could feel for their miseries and shame. Gustavus was resolved from the first to rescue his country from its thralldom to the nobility. Whether he was most actuated by patriotism or by self-interest, we need not too closely inquire. He was both bold and subtle; he took the coronation oaths to observe the constitution, but at heart he had already repudiated it. A pretended rebellion was raised by some officers in the army as a pretext which enabled the king to call around him a large body of special troops. To these he appealed eloquently for support, and on their pledge to follow him, he surrounded the house in which the diet was assembled, and forced from its members the abrogation of the constitution. Well knowing how both they and their laws were hated, the nobles had not the courage to defy the king; and in two hours the *coup d'etat* was completed. Gustavus became an absolute ruler; but in accordance with promises made to his supporters, he at once promulgated another constitution, giving some slight degree of power to the people (1772).

Gustavus III was not a man to devote his life to a single purpose. He honestly endeavored to increase the prosperity and with it the military strength of



THE DANISH VICTORY OF OLAND

(The Danish Fleet Again Saves the Country from Swedish Conquest)

After a painting by the Dutch artist, Hans Bohrdt

THE religious wars which had exhausted all Europe came to an end in 1648. Yet the unfortunate division of the Scandinavian peoples into two kingdoms prevented the north from having peace. Denmark and Sweden still continued to exhaust each other. The Swedes continued to harass enfeebled Denmark. Up to this period Denmark had always included as part of her domains, Scania, the southern province of the Swedish mainland. This was regarded as an integral part of Denmark, which was the country of the Baltic's mouth, including the islands and the mainland on both sides of them. Now, however, the Swedes seized Scania. Denmark seemed about to be engulfed by her stronger rival.

Once more, however, the Danish navy saved the country, when its land forces were helpless. In 1676 the Danes, aided by some German ships, attacked the Swedes near the island of Oland. The Swedish flagship blew up at the beginning of the fight; and the demoralized Swedes were completely defeated. At about the same time the Swedish army was defeated by the Germans. Sweden lost most of the prestige which she had held since the days of Gustavus. Europe began to feel that the Swedes no longer possessed their former warlike skill.

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Sweden; but most of his time was spent in frivolities which he imitated from France. His court became a centre of fantastic extravagances such as it could ill support. He posed as a patron of the arts, had operas and plays, tournaments, masquerades, and fêtes of every kind. Taxes increased and became oppressive. Discontent grew loud.

In 1787 Gustavus seized a favorable opportunity for declaring war against Russia. Sweden could not forget her lost possessions, and Russia was at the moment in desperate strife with the Turks. Almost unopposed, the forces of Gustavus approached St. Petersburg; its inhabitants were in terror; but a number of Swedish officers, members of the nobility, suddenly refused to follow their king farther. Under the constitution he had himself granted, he could not begin war in a foreign land without the consent of the diet, and this had not been obtained. So his carefully gathered armament sailed back to Sweden, like that of the nursery-rhyme King of France which marched up the hill and down again. The nobles who had thwarted Gustavus were accused by him of being in the pay of Russia, which they probably were; and the people, whether they had approved the king's expedition or not, were infuriated against its betrayers. The leader of these was executed, and new laws were passed still further restraining the nobility and making the king almost absolute.

In the midst of these bickerings came the tremendous French Revolution sweeping over Europe with its sudden shock to monarchs, forcing old foes to become friends in face of the common danger. Gustavus made peace with Russia. He had vast and rather visionary plans of an alliance in which he himself was to command the armies of Russia, the German Empire, Sardinia and Spain, which with his own troops he was to lead against the French. A treaty looking toward this had even been signed by the German Emperor, when Gustavus was assassinated. He was shot down by a black-cloaked masquer during the revels at one of the royal balls (1792).

So many people might have found advantage in his death, that the true source of the murder has never been definitely placed. Duke Charles, the brother of the king, has often been accused of planning it. More probable culprits were the Empress of Russia, to whom Gustavus had caused such anxiety; or the government of France, against which he was about to move; or his own nobility, whom he had crushed. At any rate the assassin, no fanatic but a cool and calculating murderer, entered the ballroom, shot the king, and escaped under shelter of a group of accomplices disguised like himself. He was traced, captured, and executed; but whatever confessions or accusations he may have uttered, have never been revealed.

Gustavus IV, son of the murdered king, was still a boy; so a regency was established under his uncle, Duke Charles. Charles made peace with everybody,

including the French. He reversed at every point the policy of his predecessor, and even sought to wed the new king, his youthful charge, to a Russian princess. Gustavus, a strange, silent lad, journeyed to Russia at his uncle's command, consented to all the preliminaries of betrothal, but at the last moment when all were awaiting him, failed to appear for the final ceremony. He had learned that his bride was to be allowed to keep to her national faith; he insisted she must become a Protestant like himself, and the negotiations were broken off.

This act of the youth was characteristic of the man, honest but fanatic, and silent, almost sullen, in his obstinacy. He was declared of age at eighteen (1796), and became the bitterest though by no means the most formidable opponent of the rising star of Napoleon.

The French conqueror dominated all the western part of continental Europe, but Gustavus opposed him at every turn. This policy lost Sweden her German territories, which she only feebly defended; but as English fleets kept Napoleon off the sea, Sweden was not otherwise incommoded until Russia and France became allied in 1807. One reason for the alliance was that Russia could thereby seize on Finland, which she promptly did.

For over a year the Swedes struggled bravely against their fate; but Finland was conquered and their country invaded from the north. Denmark also declared war against Sweden. All Europe seemed eager to share the spoils of her dismemberment. In this extremity King Gustavus continued obstinate and unyielding; he would hear no word of seeking peace with either France or Russia. Believing himself the chosen instrument of Heaven to overthrow Napoleon, he expected the divine favor to manifest itself at any moment. His people protested; they declared him insane; at length they took matters into their own hands, and a party of officers, upheld by almost universal approval, seized and imprisoned the king. He was declared dethroned, and his uncle Charles was once more called to rule the country, this time as King Charles XIII (1809–1818).

Charles, as he had once done before, sought peace at any price. It was not now so easy to obtain. Finland and also Bothnia were surrendered to Russia; and Sweden was compelled to join Napoleon's "Continental Alliance," which forbade all trade with England. As the Swedes depended on England for some of the actual necessities of life, this treaty strictly carried out would have meant starvation. But except for its secret evasion by much smuggling, Sweden became a submissive vassal state to France.

Her dependence caused what was, perhaps, the strangest of her many strange experiences in choosing rulers. Her aged king was childless. He strove to propitiate his many enemies by selecting as his heir a Danish prince. This adopted son died; and the Swedes, in their abject submission to Napoleon, appealed to the conqueror to select whom he pleased, as their future sovereign. He failed to

CHARLES XII AT NARVA

(The Little Swedish Army Sweeps Over the Untrained Russian Hordes)

After a drawing by the German artist, Julius Schaber

AT this time Sweden held almost all the coastlands surrounding the Baltic. Only Denmark and a very small strip of German coast had not succumbed to her. But if she had really lost her military strength she could not hope to retain these lands. A dozen neighbors were only too eager to snatch them from her. A favorable chance seemed offered them by the accession in 1697 of a new sovereign, a boy of only fourteen, the celebrated Charles XII.

Hoping to take advantage of Charles' youth, Denmark, Poland, Saxony and Russia all at the same time seized upon some of his outlying territories. Charles met his many foes with the skill of a great general. Attacking Denmark first with all his strength, he besieged Copenhagen and forced the country to a despairing peace. Then Charles transported all his troops suddenly to the Russian border, where he had to face the newly risen genius of Peter the Great. Peter had gathered an enormous army of Russians to besiege the Swedish seaport fortress of Narva. Charles attacked him with a little army, not one-tenth the numbers of the Russian hordes. Yet such was the daring and skill of the young Swedish leader, such the confusion and fear of the Russians, that the latter took to almost instant flight. The Swedes hacked at the retreating mass and slew or made prisoners at will. Narva drew the admiring eyes of Europe once more upon Sweden and upon the new warrior who had arisen there.

indicate his choice with clearness, seeming to lean now toward one candidate, now toward another. The Swedes suggested that one of his own marshals might be chosen, and this also he approved. The diet was already met; there was much confusion and uncertainty as to the tyrant's real desires. Finally, thinking to oblige him, the Swedes elected that one of his marshals whom probably he least of all desired, whom he both feared and suspected, and with whom he was already secretly engaged in quarrel. The man who thus, as by an accident, became crown prince of Sweden, was Jean (John) Bernadotte, once a corporal in the French army, but risen to be an able general, a shrewd statesman, and a polished man of the world. He was ready enough to become a king, promptly accepted the proffered position, and abandoned his own Catholic religion for the Swedish Lutheran church (1810).

"Go then," said Napoleon to him ungraciously, "let us each fulfill our destiny."

Those destinies soon led them wide apart. Bernadotte, or Prince Charles John, as he was christened and thereafter known, became at once, as by the force of the man it was inevitable he should become, the real ruler and guiding power of Sweden. He seemed to bow to Napoleon's wishes. He even declared war against England. But secretly, seeing the necessities of his people, he encouraged trade with the English, and the war was a sort of *opera-bouffe* affair which could not long deceive the astute Napoleon. The Emperor in anger took away from Sweden all the German provinces which he had restored to her. This punishment seeming insufficient, he notified both the English and Russian governments that he no longer cared to what extent they might choose to plunder Sweden.

"Napoleon has himself thrown down the gauntlet," said Prince Charles John, now thoroughly a Swede, "I will take it up."

He made a secret treaty with Russia, whose Czar Alexander had also grown restive under Napoleon's insolence. To Alexander in his great war with France, the Swedish alliance, every alliance, was of vast importance. To secure the support of Prince Charles, he was even ready if necessary to restore Finland to Sweden. The two monarchs however, effected a compromise; it was agreed between them, that instead of Finland, the Swedes should be allowed to take possession of Norway, which Denmark had grown too feeble to defend.

With both Russia and England thus on his side, Prince Charles felt his northern peninsula safe against anything Napoleon could do, and openly defied his former master. He aided Russia greatly in her terrible struggle of 1812, and when Napoleon was crushed in the vast campaign of 1813 in Germany, it is said that the plan of operations against the French really emanated from the brain of their former marshal, Bernadotte. At all events, a Swedish army under Bernadotte took part in the stupendous war of the nations; and at its close the allies confirmed the

treaty he had made with Russia. Norway was taken from Denmark, and, with no consultation of the wishes of its people, was transferred to Sweden.

To understand the part taken by Denmark in these upheavals, we must look back a little. During most of the eighteenth century Denmark had sought for peace. She had avoided interference in the political affairs of Europe, and had honorably distinguished herself by her advance in civilization. The reign of Christian VI (1730–1746) had unfortunately been a period of religious bigotry, during which all amusements were forbidden, and the sombre king instituted a sort of Protestant Inquisition for the punishment of heretics. Most of the Danish sovereigns, however, were liberal and patriotic. Complete freedom was granted the press. In 1788, all the bonds which held the peasants in subjection were removed, and thus even before the Revolution in France, that unhappy class were in Denmark admitted to an equality with their more fortunate brothers.

During the Napoleonic upheaval, the peaceful policy of Denmark redounded at first to her advantage. Her navy had always been maintained in a state of high efficiency. Her people were all seamen, and her ships now shared with those of England and America the carrying trade of the world. But England soon displayed toward her the same domineering spirit that roused the Americans to resistance. Danish ships were searched and plundered at will of whatever England chose to call contraband of war. A Danish frigate was seized; and finally, despite every effort of the Danes for peace, England made war upon them, took forcible possession of the Danish East Indies, and without warning despatched a fleet against Copenhagen (1801).

Then followed Nelson's famous battle, in which the English have too freely claimed a victory they scarcely won. Though taken wholly by surprise, the Danish fleet under their admiral, Olert Fischer, made a glorious defense. Outnumbered, and with their ships anchored so that they could not maneuvre, they nevertheless fought so effectually that Nelson's superior officer ordered him to abandon the contest. When he persisted, the fight raged for hours; and though several Danish ships were captured, so battered were the English vessels that they were preparing to withdraw, when Nelson by threatening to destroy the ships and crews he had already taken, secured an armistice. The English admiral declared this the bloodiest and fiercest battle in which he had ever engaged.

Peace was reestablished, and for a few years more Denmark's commerce and consequent wealth increased with gigantic stride. But when, in 1807, Russia and France came to terms against England, it was evident that they would compel Denmark to join the rest of the Continent in antagonism to the common foe. Anticipating this, the English a second time despatched a fleet against Copenhagen, and with the threat of destroying the rich metropolis, demanded that the Danish fleet be surrendered into their possession.

THE SWEDES RECONQUER SCANIA

(The Soldiers of Charles XII Recapture Malmo, the Most Southern Port of Sweden)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, Gustav von Cederstrom

THE warlike career of Charles XII was like that of a brilliant shooting star, blazing fiercely, but soon burning itself out to nothing. Charles defeated Poland and Saxony as he had defeated Denmark and Russia. He was for a moment master of all the north; but he knew not where to stop. Convinced by his easy victory at Narva that the Russians could not fight, he was resolved to make a complete conquest of their vast land. For this purpose he invaded Russia in 1707 with by far the largest army Sweden ever managed to send forth, sixty thousand men. Almost all this splendid fighting force perished in the Russian wastes. The great Czar Peter wisely refused to give them battle, but constantly retreated and lured them on, until at last they were utterly exhausted. Then turning on the feeble remnant, Peter crushed them in the battle of Pultowa. Charles escaped almost alone and fled to Turkey and thence back home.

While the Swedish king was thus wandering in exile, all his enemies again combined against him. The Danes invaded Sweden and seized their lost province of Scania or southern Sweden. But the little remnant of the Swedes whom Charles had left at home rallied gallantly to defend their land. The regions beyond the Baltic they could not save; but they fought back the invading Danes inch by inch, and finally drove them wholly out of Scania. The last spot recovered amid grim rejoicing was the southmost seaport of Malmo.

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The royal family fled from their Copenhagen palace, but the burghers and common folk prepared for resistance. British troops were landed and encircled the doomed city; Nelson's fleet bombarded it for three days. Then the commandant surrendered, and the unprepared Danish ships were given up to the piratical assailants. England has lauded Nelson to the skies as a hero, while she accuses the American Paul Jones of having been a pirate; and Americans, reading her literature, have been too apt to accept her verdicts. Yet no just judge can hesitate to say that Jones in his strength and solitude was the real hero, while Nelson and all the English lords and lawyers who abetted their country's assault on Denmark, were pirates, though perhaps driven to their criminal courses by necessity.

The same necessities of the situation, no less than her fury against England, now forced Denmark into alliance with Napoleon. She declared war on England and afterward upon Sweden, which under Gustavus IV was England's ally. Owing to England's command of the sea, communication between Denmark and Norway became increasingly difficult; and the plan of annexing Norway to Sweden, afterward arranged by Russia and Prince Charles John, was first suggested between England and Gustavus.

At Napoleon's downfall Denmark, impoverished and ruined by England, was the last of his allies to continue to uphold him. When called on by the confederated nations to surrender Norway, she had no choice and consented, being given some small portions of German territory in exchange (1814).

The Norwegians themselves did not yield so easily. For over four centuries, ever since the days of Queen Margaret, their land had been united with Denmark, while wars with Sweden had been frequent. They refused to be handed over tamely to the enemy. In a hastily convoked assembly, the people proudly proclaimed that since Denmark had cast them off and absolved them from their oaths of allegiance, they were a free nation, and such they would remain. Norway was declared an independent kingdom. A form of constitutional government was hastily drawn up; and the throne was proffered to Prince Christian, the Danish vicegerent of the land (May 17, 1814). Christian, afterward King Christian VIII of Denmark, accepted the offer on the same day; indeed, he had been a leader in the whole movement.

Thus Prince Charles John, hurrying back to Sweden to receive the gratitude of his people for the splendid province he had won them, found himself confronted by a nation in arms. He promptly led an army of thirty thousand Swedes into Norway to enforce the dubious rights he had acquired. The greater right, the right of common folk to speak for themselves, was little regarded in those days. Having given Norway to Prince Charles, the European Powers insisted that their mandate should be carried out. England lent him the aid of her ships to blockade the coast. Russian troops were made ready to join him if needed. The Nor

vegians could see no faintest prospect of success. Still they fought valiantly; and Prince Charles, knowing how little value for Sweden the province would have if its submission were obtained by bloodshed, and if its obedience must constantly be compelled by force—Prince Charles proposed an armistice.

Speaking in the name of Sweden he offered to permit Norway to retain the extremely liberal constitution she had just established. All she need do was to accept the Swedish kings as her hereditary monarchs and to make such slight changes in the constitution as the Norwegians themselves would agree were needed to establish the union harmoniously. The Swedish assembly was to have no authority over them.

These generous terms were accepted. King Christian resigned his brief authority. Swedish commissioners came to confirm the form of the agreement, and before the end of the year Charles XIII, the old and feeble King of Sweden, was proclaimed King of Norway also, with Prince Charles John as his successor. The French corporal, Bernadotte, had travelled far.

The next year (1815), a formal Act of Union was drawn up and the Swedish government sent a declaration to the Powers that the treaty in Sweden's favor which they had promised to enforce, was formally abandoned; that Norway and Sweden were being united not under that treaty but of their own desire, "not by force of arms, but by free conviction."

Germans Bombarding the Danish Fleet, 1849

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BRINGING THE HERO HOME

(The Body of Charles XII Brought Home by His Despairing Soldiers)

From a painting by the Swedish artist, Gustav von Cederstrom

TO this desperately fighting remnant of his people Charles XII came home at last. He had escaped from Turkey by a wild ride across all Europe through lands where every man was his foe. He rallied his people for resistance against their many enemies. Of these, as always, the Danes seemed the most dangerous. So when the Danes were driven out of Sweden, Charles attacked them in Norway. He was besieging a fortress there when he was shot dead. He had knelt to peer over the edge of the Swedish defenses against the foe. His officers thought him praying there, he remained so still. When at length they ventured to arouse him, they found him dead. So, suddenly, terminated his wild career.

The soldiers of Charles had loved him devotedly, and they bore his body home in sorrow over the mountain passes that separated Norway from their own land. His death ended the war. Sweden yielded most of her oversea territories to her foes, and sank back exhausted into the position of a minor power. Her people, however, have never blamed Charles XII for plunging them into such loss and disaster; they feel that he fought for their good, and with tremendous skill, against overwhelming odds. They account him a great national hero. Other nations called him "the Madman of the North."

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DEATH OF FREDERICK VII ANNOUNCED IN COPENHAGEN

Chapter X

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE PRESENT DAY

[*Special Authorities:* Bunsen, "Constitutional Rights of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein"; Gosch, "Denmark and Germany since 1815"; Laing, "Journal of a Residence in Norway"; Sorensen, "Norway"; Wraxall, "Visit to the Seat of War in the North."]

THE spoliation of Denmark, begun by England at the opening of the nineteenth century and continued by Sweden in 1814, was not to end there. Slowly after 1814 the Danes recovered their prosperity. The unhappy king, Frederick VI, who had sought to guide them through that period of tribulation, was led by the European revolts of 1830 to promise his people constitutional government; but this remained feeble and imperfect during his reign and that of his successor, Christian VIII. In 1848 Frederick VII succeeded to the crown, and amid the successful revolutions which were overturning thrones throughout that year, he retained the confidence of his subjects by promising to grant them complete self-government.

The immediate arrangement of constitutional details was delayed by a more pressing matter. The people of Holstein and also, though in less degree, those of Schleswig had always been partly German and not thoroughly in accord with the true Danes farther north. The use of the German language was spreading among the discontented, and their leader, Duke Christian of Augustenburg, began to show signs of a desire to reassert the ancient independence of Holstein. Moreover there had been a pledge made by the Danish kings of old that Holstein and Schleswig should never be separated. Schleswig had belonged to Denmark for ages, and Holstein

had for four centuries fully shared all the sorrows and vicissitudes of the remainder of the kingdom. How much, therefore, this sudden spirit of independence was due to the fostering of German emissaries, it would be difficult to say. Early in 1848 the State Assemblies both in Schleswig and Holstein suddenly demanded that their independence should be acknowledged by Denmark, as a preliminary to their joining the German confederation.

Two years before, a Danish commission had examined carefully into all the ancient documents bearing on the relation of these two provinces to the remainder of the kingdom. This commission reported that Schleswig was a fully and lawfully incorporated portion of the kingdom, lying as it did within the ancient wall or Dane-work built a thousand years before. Holstein they declared in a more dubious position. It was a fief belonging to the king and to his family by inheritance, but not necessarily a part of the kingdom. King Frederick, therefore, as far as Schleswig was concerned, refused absolutely to sanction its withdrawal from Denmark; and, as the rebels began seizing fortresses, he hurried the Danish army to check them. It was easy to expel them from Schleswig, where the people in general were divided in their preferences; but in Holstein the rebels had a regular army, which the Danes defeated.

Meanwhile however, the Duke of Augustenburg had appealed to Prussia for aid. A large German army joined the insurgents and drove back the Danes in urn. There was considerable diplomatic wrangling, and all Europe became involved in the discussion. Several battles were fought between the Danes and Germans in which the Danes gained a temporary advantage. Finally the insurgents were left to themselves, whereon the Danes defeated them at Idstedt and elsewhere and reoccupied the rebellious provinces (1850).

King Frederick celebrated this, the last triumph of the Danish arms, by conferring on his loyal people the self-government he had promised. A constitution was framed, giving them absolute liberty and authority, and to this day there are no people in Europe more wholly masters of themselves and their government than the Danes. At the same time, a general conference of the Powers was held at London (1852), intended to settle the Schleswig-Holstein matter. The rights of the Duke of Augustenburg were purchased from him by Denmark; and as King Frederick had no children, it was arranged that the ultimate succession in both Denmark and the provinces should pass to Prince Christian of Glucksburg, who is King of Denmark in our own day and who was a distant relative of King Frederick.

This arrangement neglected to consult the people of Holstein and Schleswig; hence it not unnaturally failed to make a final settlement of the dispute. When Frederick died in 1863, King Christian was not permitted to succeed in peace. The son of the old Duke of Augustenburg asserted his claim as next in succession

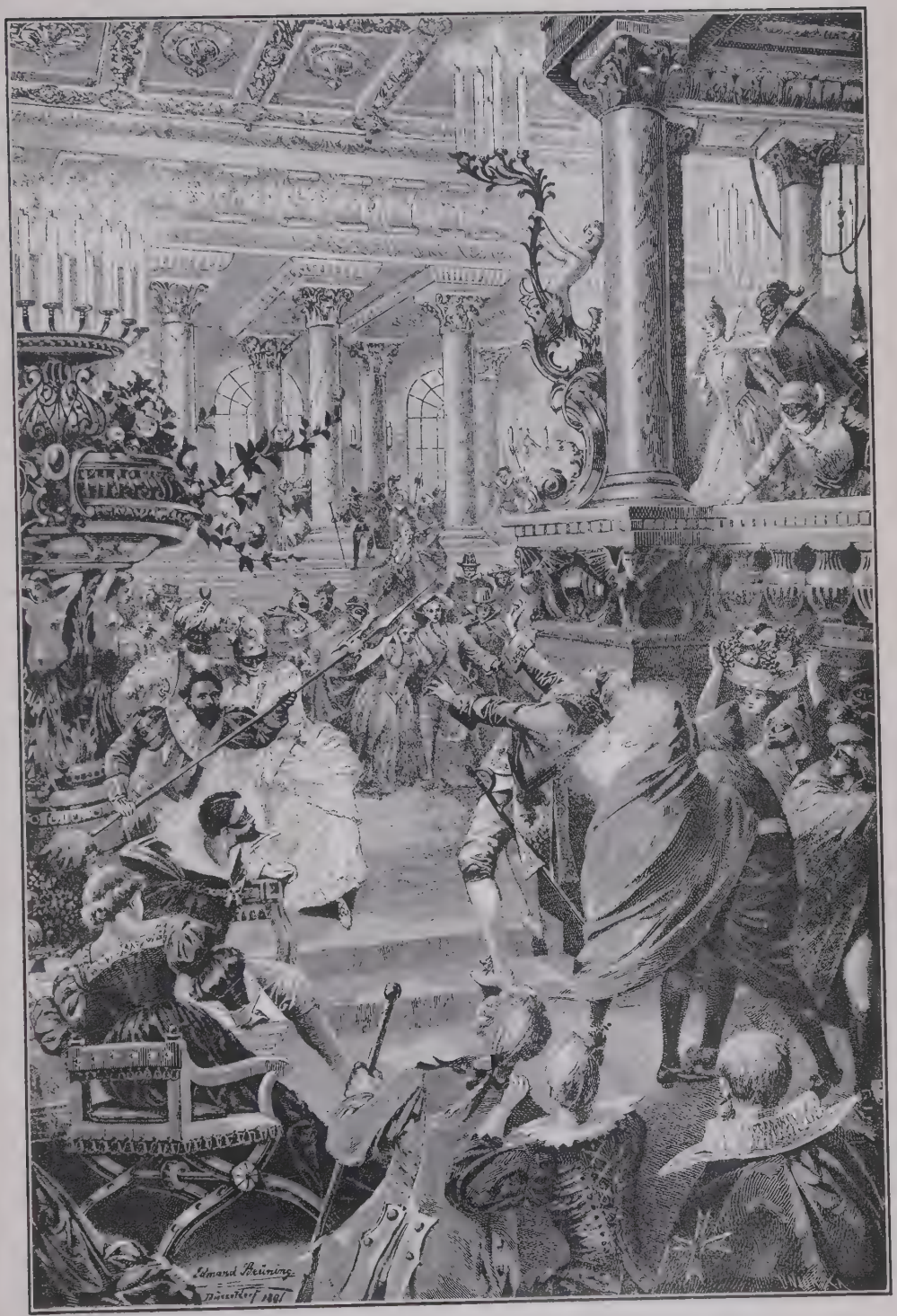
DEATH OF GUSTAVUS III

(The Regenerator of Exhausted Sweden Assassinated at a Masked Ball)

From a painting by Edmund Brunuy, of Dusseldorf, in 1891

SO low did the power of Sweden sink during the eighteenth century, that her very kings were selected by the foreign powers, France or Russia, which had become dictators over the north. The peasantry were impoverished by excessive taxation and sank to utter misery. In 1771, the Swedes again secured a king born among themselves, though of German descent. This was Gustavus III, who really tried to restore the country to something of strength and prosperity. In doing this he made many enemies, the most marked of these being his own nobles, who had thriven on the weakness of the peasants and who bitterly opposed the reforms of Gustavus. He also ventured to quarrel with Russia, marched an army against St. Petersburg and almost captured it. Then the French broke into their great Revolution; and Gustavus abandoned his other successes and made peace with every one else in order to be free to attack the French.

At this moment the bold king was slain. Gustavus had aroused so many enemies that the world has never known which of them it was that instigated his murder, though Catharine the Great of Russia has been most suspected. At any rate, Gustavus was shot in the back while attending a masked ball in his own royal palace. Several men garbed in disguises similar to that of the assassin gathered round him and so enabled him to escape in the confusion. With the fall of Gustavus expired Sweden's last chance of political power.



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to rule in Holstein. Austria and Prussia, despite their agreement in the London conference, seized the opportunity of plundering Denmark. They supported the duke and sent armies to take possession of Holstein. Another war followed, brief, but desperately contested by the Danes against overwhelming numbers. Gradually the German armies conquered all the mainland of Denmark; and the new king, Christian IX, was compelled to assent to a peace by which not only Holstein but Schleswig and one other German district which Denmark still possessed, were incorporated in the German confederation (1864). The claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, who had caused all the trouble and battle and slaughter, were ignored entirely.

Denmark then enjoyed forty years of peace under King Christian. A long but by no means bitter strife was carried on between the two houses of the government, the lower house or "Folkething" objecting to all military expenditures as being useless for so small a state. In 1901 the elections turned overwhelmingly in favor of the party of peace and economy, and as a result of this the government was placed wholly in the hands of the economists. King Christian died in 1906 at the advanced age of eighty-seven, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick VIII. King Frederick died in his turn in 1912. He fell dead while walking alone in the streets of the German city of Hamburg. No one knew of his presence there, and his body was not recognized until after it had been carried to the common morgue. He was succeeded by his eldest son, King Christian X. Frederick's second son had already become King of Norway.

If we turn now to glance over the past century in Norway and Sweden, we find that they have also had their difficulties to encounter though, more fortunate than their southern neighbor, they have escaped the misery of actual war. Their union, consummated in 1815, caused constant friction between them. This was inevitable, if we consider the misapprehension under which the alliance began, the Swedes regarding Norway as a captured province to which they had been extremely, perhaps mistakenly, lenient, the Norwegians feeling themselves a free people who had deliberately accepted a king and some points of government in common with their neighbors.

The friction was slight at first, for Bernadotte, or King Charles XIV as he became in 1818, was a diplomat, clever at glossing over difficulties and soothing wounded susceptibilities. Norway was allowed to use her own flag, only it was not to be borne on distant oceans. She had her own army, her own assembly or "Storthing," and her own constitution, far more liberal than that of Sweden. Indeed, so democratic was the Norwegian government that, in direct opposition to the king, it passed a law abolishing all orders of nobility, saying the country was too poor to support them, and that the peasants were the only real descendants of the ancient Norsemen.

As Bernadotte grew older he grew more conservative, more distrustful of the progressive attitude of his people. He persecuted liberal writers and openly expressed his fear of assassination. Thus, though he had once been tremendously popular, and though he certainly did a vast deal of good in restoring prosperity to both Sweden and Norway, he was disliked in his old age, and his death was rather impatiently awaited. It came to him at the age of eighty, and his popular and liberal son succeeded him as Oscar I (1844-1859).

So freely did King Oscar sympathize with his people, and so fully did he grant all they desired of self-government, that the revolution which shook the rest of Europe in 1848 found no echo in his domains. He broke away from Russia, which had been his father's friend and chief support, and he relied more and more upon western Europe to protect him against Russian aggression. His policy was followed by his eldest son, Charles XV (1859-1872), and also by his other son, who next succeeded to the throne as Oscar II.

All three of these successive sovereigns, the descendants of Bernadotte, did everything they could to bring their two refractory kingdoms into a closer and more kindly union, but Norway always insisted on equality, Sweden on superiority. At one time, the struggle centred round the question of the flag, until the kings granted Norway as much right to her flag everywhere as Sweden had to hers. Then the dispute turned upon the appointment of a viceroy for Norway. She wanted none, since his presence implied that the sovereign's real home was in Sweden. The office was long left vacant and was finally abolished (1873); but the great central question of equality did not die with it. The persistent refusal of further concessions by the Swedish government and king finally led the Norwegian people to extremes. A popular vote was taken and resulted in an overwhelming majority in favor of dissolving the union. Thereupon the Norwegian Storthing formally proclaimed the union at an end and King Oscar dethroned (1905).

Every means was tried by the Swedes to prevent this division of the two states. They even threatened war; but fortunately the world has reached a stage of progress where physical compulsion in such a case seems hardly a possible resort. Norway sought a king in other lands. Her throne was offered to Prince Christian, second son of Frederick, the King of Denmark; and in November of 1905 Christian accepted the difficult position. With his English wife, Princess Maud, a daughter of King Edward VII, he was royally received in Norway. The new monarch adopted the name of Hakon VII, as successor of that Hakon VI who was the last active independent king of Norway, the husband of the great Queen Margaret who established the union of Kalmar. Christian's son and heir has been named Olaf, after the son of Margaret and Hakon VI.

CORONATION OF KING CHRISTIAN IX

(The Danes Rejoice Over the Expected Additions to Their Territory With the New King)

From a photograph of the time

ENFEEBLED and exhausted Scandinavia made but a poor showing during the upheavals of the Napoleonic period. Sweden accepted as king Napoleon's marshal, Bernadotte; and his descendants still hold the Swedish throne. For aiding the other Powers in the overthrow of Napoleon, his former master, Bernadotte was also given Norway. This land was thus after centuries of union with Denmark, handed over to Sweden without the consent of its people. As for Denmark she had been so ill used by England during the Napoleonic wars, that in her resentment she clung to Napoleon to the end, and thus was deprived by the allies of much of her territory.

Denmark was still, however, to fight one more war. In 1863 a new king ascended her throne, Christian IX. There had long been a dispute as to the ownership and allegiance of the two half-Danish, half-German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. All the powers of Europe had finally agreed that these lands belonged to Christian and that when he ascended the Danish throne they should be formally incorporated with Denmark. So the Danes hailed Christian's coronation with particular joy. But Prussia and Austria both broke their pledge in the matter and seized the disputed duchies. The cheated Danes refused to yield and fought bitterly against all the strength of Germany; but they were gradually beaten back and compelled to surrender the disputed territory. Denmark thus assumed its present size.

King Oscar of Sweden at once sought to establish amicable relations with the new sovereign family and expressed to them his hopes for their prosperous reign. Thus the two sister nations began their separate careers in friendship, yet there can be little doubt that King Oscar's private grief over the division of his realm hastened his death, which occurred in December, 1907. He was succeeded by his eldest son, as Gustavus V.

Thus it will be seen that there has been within the last few years a considerable shifting of thrones in the north and all three of the Scandinavian kingdoms have come under the control of men of a younger generation. A still greater change has been the rapid progress in democracy. In Norway, as we have seen, the peasantry have held control for a century past. In Denmark they seized control in the elections of a dozen years ago; and when King Christian X came to the throne in 1912 he at once proclaimed more liberal laws which were put in operation in 1913. Sweden has been slower but not less positive in her democratic movement. The narrowly restricted Swedish suffrage long gave the conservative upper classes overwhelming control of the upper house of parliament. In 1909 there was a laborers' strike which spread all over the country but failed because of government opposition. This so angered the lower classes that they insisted on an extension of suffrage. The elections of 1911 made the lower house of parliament overwhelmingly liberal; and this house waged against the upper house such a struggle as the English House of Commons recently waged against the Lords. Indeed, the English struggle was regarded by the Swedish liberals as a precedent. Labor strikes were renewed and finally, under the lead of prime minister Staaff, the people won a much broader suffrage, which now enables them to control the upper house of their parliament.

Almost the first act of the reconstructed parliament was to give Sweden woman's suffrage (1912). In this measure of widest democracy Norway had already shown the way, establishing woman's voting right in 1907, the second year of their country's independence from Sweden. Denmark also established, or rather, expanded woman's suffrage in 1913. So that now throughout all Scandinavia government rests upon the entire body of the people.

Thus in some ways the far north has become the very freest part of Europe. Her kings are indeed but the servants of the people; and her peoples are pledged to democracy and to peace. Both Denmark and Norway have abandoned all pretense of keeping up military and naval armaments for national defense; and while the people of Sweden recently complimented their King Gustavus by a present of money to build a new battleship, they have probably as little thought as their neighbors of ever again attempting war.

CHRONOLOGY OF SCANDINAVIA

B.C. 100(?)—Odin enters Svea-land and founds the dynasty of the Ynglings. A.D. 623—Overthrow of the Ynglings by Ivar Widfadme; supremacy of Denmark. 647—Harald Hildetand unites all Scandinavia under his sway. 735—Battle of Bravalla; Norwegian supremacy. 794—Ragnar Lodbrok slain in the British Isles; his dominion divided among his sons. 810—Gottrik the Dane attacks Charlemagne. 826—Christianity introduced into the North by Harald Klak. 865—Death of Anscarius, the Apostle of the North. 874—Settlement of Iceland. 875—Harald Haarfagr conquers Norway at Hafurs Fjord. 893—Gorm the Old opposes Christianity; his queen Thyra builds the Dane-work. 930—The sons of Harald begin the Norse civil wars. 974—Denmark invaded by the Emperor Otto II. 994—Sweyn Forkbeard makes himself overlord of England. 1000—Leif Ericson discovers America. 1000—Olaf Trygvesson overthrown by his jarls and Sweyn Forkbeard. 1002—Massacre of the Danes in England and vengeance of Sweyn. 1014—Canute the Great begins to extend his empire. 1028—Canute becomes lord of six kingdoms including Great Britain and all Scandinavia. 1035—Death of Canute and division of his empire. 1044—Magnus of Norway becomes overlord of the North. 1066—Harald of Norway attempts the reconquest of England, and is defeated and slain at Stamford Bridge. 1069—Sweyn of Denmark fails in a similar attempt; all Scandinavia sinks into exhaustion. 1130—The royal line of Sweden dies out and "peasant" kings are elected. 1147—Civil war in Denmark; the rivals acknowledge the land as a fief of the German Empire. 1155—Eric the Saint establishes Christianity in Sweden. 1157—Waldemar the Great defeats all claimants to the Danish throne. 1162—Waldemar proclaims a code of law. 1168—He captures the Wendish stronghold Arkona. 1182—Canute VI reasserts Scandinavian independence of Germany. 1219—Crusade against the Esthonians by Waldemar the Victorious. 1223—Abduction and imprisonment of Waldemar. 1241—Waldermar, dying, divides his kingdom; a century of civil war and desolation follows. 1319—Accession of Magnus Smek, last of the ancient kings of Sweden and Norway. 1340—Waldemar Attertag restores prosperity to Denmark. 1360—Waldemar Attertag plunders Wisby and so rouses a general league against Denmark, which he defeats. 1367—A rebellion drives Waldemar into exile. 1372—Waldemar is restored, but the Hanseatic League becomes the real ruler of Scandinavia. 1375—Waldemar's throne passes to his baby grandson Olaf. 1380—Margaret becomes regent of Norway. 1387—Olaf's death leaves Margaret queen of both Denmark and Norway. 1389—Margaret aids the Swedes in rebellion against their German king, Albert; defeats him at Falkoping; assumes the Swedish crown. 1397—Margaret establishes the Union of Kalmar,

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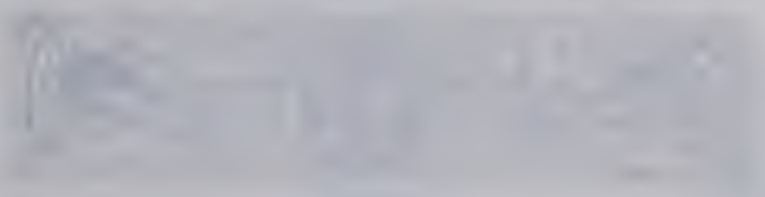
uniting her three kingdoms. 1412—Death of Margaret; misrule of King Eric. 1442—His deposition accomplished in all three kingdoms. 1448—Karl Knutsson elected king in Sweden, Christian I in Denmark and Norway. 1497—Hans of Denmark and Norway conquers Sweden. 1500—He is defeated by the Ditmarshers; rebellion of the Stures in Sweden. 1506—Prince Christian of Denmark crushes revolt in Norway. 1520—Christian, now King Christian II, reconquers Sweden; the "Bloodbath of Stockholm." 1522—Rebellion drives Christian from Denmark. 1523—Gustavus Vasa rescues Sweden and ends the Union of Kalmar; he introduces Protestantism. 1536—Protestantism established in Denmark and Norway by Christian III. 1593—Religious strife in Sweden ended by the "Upsala Resolutions." 1611—Gustavus Adolphus becomes King of Sweden and wages successful wars against Denmark, Russia and Poland. 1625—Christian IV of Denmark takes part in the great "Thirty Years' War" and is crushed. 1629—The Swedish king enters the war, and wins his famous victories. 1632—He is slain at Lutzen; the Swedes continue their successful strife in Germany. 1644—Christian IV wins the sea-fight of Colberg against the Swedes, but is forced to a disastrous peace. 1658—Charles X crosses the Danish straits on the ice and captures Copenhagen; Scania and northern Norway added to Sweden; her territory reaches its widest extent. 1660—Bloodless rebellion in Denmark overthrows the nobility. 1700—Russia, Denmark, Poland and Saxony attack Sweden; Charles XII repels them all; defeats the Russians at Narva. 1709—He is overthrown by the Russians at Pultowa. 1718—Death of Charles XII; Sweden sinks to a minor kingdom. 1772—Gustavus III suppresses the Swedish nobles and grants a constitution to his people. 1792—Assassination of Gustavus III. 1801—The British attack Copenhagen and fight a drawn battle with the Danish fleet. 1807—Russia, supported by Napoleon, seizes Finland; England seizes the Danish fleet. 1810—Bernadotte adopted by the Swedes as heir to their throne. 1814—He aids in the overthrow of Napoleon, and Norway is taken from Denmark and given to Sweden. 1848—Schleswig and Holstein declare independence of Denmark. 1850—They are finally crushed at Idstedt. 1864—Second Schleswig-Holstein War; the Germans aid the rebellious duchies; the Danes are defeated and the duchies joined to Germany. 1905—Separation of Norway and Sweden; Prince Christian of Denmark elected King of Norway as Hakon VII. 1907—Norway establishes woman suffrage; Oscar II of Sweden succeeded by Gustavus V. 1911—Extension of the franchise in Sweden, and triumph of the liberal party. 1912—Further extension of Swedish suffrage to women; sudden death of King Frederick of Denmark and succession of Christian X. 1913—Christian X establishes still more liberal laws and policy for Denmark.

RULERS OF SCANDINAVIA

Sweden.	Norway.	Denmark
794-804—Bjorn Ironside.		794-803—Sigurd.
* * *	* * *	* * *
993—Olaf the Lap King.	875—Harald Haarfagr.	860—Gorm the Old.
1024—Canute of Denmark	934-938—Eric Bloodaxe.	936—Harald Bluetooth.
* * *	* * *	985—Sweyn Forkbeard.
The Peasant Kings.	977—Hakon Jarl.	1014—Canute the Great.
1130—Sverker.	995—Olaf Trygvesson.	1035—Harthacanute.
1155-60—Eric the Saint.	1000—Sweyn of Denmark.	1042—Magnus of Norway
* * *	1014—Canute of Denmark	1047—Sweyn Estridson.
The Folkingar Kings.	1035—Magnus the Good.	* * *
1250—Waldemar.	1047—Harald Hardrada.	1157—Waldemar I.
1279—Magnus Ladulaas.	1066-1093—Olaf Kyrre.	1182—Canute VI.
1290—Birger.	* * *	1202-1241—Waldemar II
1319—Magnus Smek.	1319—Magnus Smek (of Sweden).	* * *
1363—Albert of Mecklenburg.	1355—Hakon VI.	1340—Waldemar III.
1397—Margaret.	1380—Olaf.	1375—Olaf.
	1387—Margaret.	1387—Margaret.
	1397—The Union of Kalmar.	
	1412—Eric of Pomerania.	
	1439—Christopher of Bavaria.	
1448—Karl Knutson.		1448—Christian of Oldenburg
	1481—Hans of Denmark.	
	1513—Christian II.	
1523—Gustavus Vasa.		1523—Frederick I.
1560—Eric XIV.		1533—Christian III.
1568—John III.		1559—Frederick II.
1592—Sigismund of Poland.		1588—Christian IV.
1600—Charles IX.		1648—Frederick III
1611—Gustavus Adolphus.		1670—Christian V.
1632—Christina.		1699—Frederick IV.
1654—Charles X.		1730—Christian VI.
1660—Charles XI.		1746—Frederick V.
1697—Charles XII.		1766—Christian VII.
1718—Frederick of Hesse.		1808—Frederick VI.
1751—Adolphus Frederick.		
1771—Gustavus III.		
1792—Gustavus IV.		
1809—Charles XIII.	(of Norway)—1815	
1818—Charles John XIV (Bernadotte).		1839—Christian VIII
1844—Oscar I.		1849—Frederick VII.
1859—Charles XV.		1863—Christian IX.
1872—Oscar II	1905—Hakon VII	1906—Frederick VIII
1907—Gustavus V		1912—Christian X.



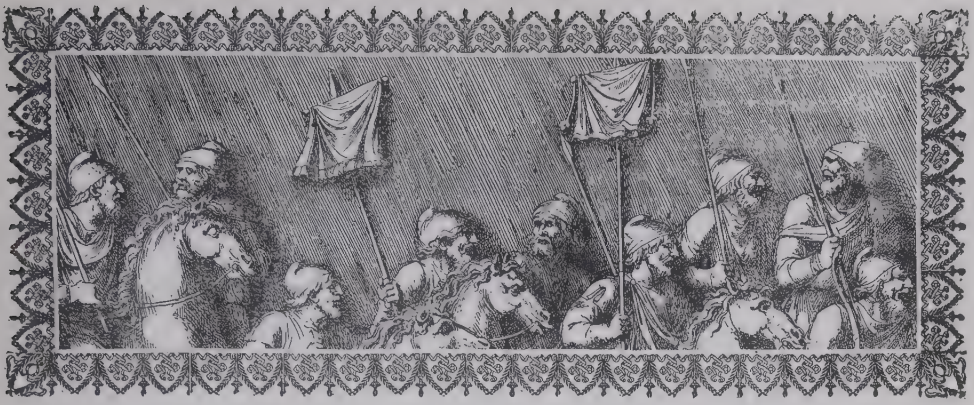
NORWAY SEPARATES FROM SWEDEN

(Parade of Voters in Christiania Favoring the Separation)

From a photograph in Christiania

THE union of Sweden and Norway, which had been forced upon the latter state at the reorganization of Europe in 1815, continued for almost a century. Always, however, the Norwegians viewed it with discontent. They insisted on being treated as in every way equal to the Swedes, while the latter regarded the union as a conquest and Norway as a dependent province. This led to constant bickering; and though the Swedish kings did everything they could to soothe Norway's injured pride, the friction increased until at length the Norwegians in 1905 declared the Swedish king deposed from their throne. The Swedes were almost inclined to go to war; but fortunately the progress of all the world's civilization toward self-government prevented this appeal to force. The Swedish parliament declared that if Norway would hold a formal vote on disunion and a majority desired it, the Swedes would accept the situation.

So the Norwegians held their vote. All through the land they held processions such as the one here pictured, bearing statues of Norse freedom with the word Ja (Yes) to show how they meant to cast their ballots. The secession was carried by a practically unanimous vote, and Norway became an independent state.



The Batavian Cavalry

THE STORY OF
THE GREATEST NATIONS

MODERN NATIONS—THE NETHERLANDS

Chapter I

THE EARLY DAYS

[*Authorities—General:* Davies, "The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation"; Grattan, "History of the Netherlands"; Rogers, "The Story of Holland"; Young, "History of the Netherlands"; Louis Bonaparte, "Historical Documents of Holland"; De Amicis, "Holland and its People" *Special:* Cæsar, "Commentaries"; Tacitus, "Germania," "Annals"; Pliny, "Natural History."]

NO tale has ever been told more truly marvellous than that of the Netherlands. No people ever made greater sacrifices or achieved greater labors for the progress of humanity than the race inhabiting the "low countries." This appropriate name is given to the flat mud-plains occupied to-day by the States of Holland and Belgium, and formed by the deltas of the three rivers Rhine, Maas, and Scheldt.

To the geologist the Low Countries have a special interest, for they are the latest formed of all the habitable lands. There the scientist can see our modern world in the making. In Roman days the possession of the district was still disputed between earth and ocean, and the Titanic strife

has only lately been decided in earth's favor by the intervention of the pigmy, man.

One can scarcely speak of the beginning of things in the Netherlands without quoting Pliny, that shrewd old Roman commentator upon the history of beasts and men. He says, "There the ocean pours in its flood twice every day, and produces a perpetual uncertainty whether the country may be considered as a part of the continent or the sea. The wretched inhabitants take refuge on the sand-hills or in little huts, which they construct on the summits of lofty stakes, whose elevation is conformable to that of the highest tides. When the sea rises, they appear like navigators; when it retires, they seem as though they had been shipwrecked. They subsist on the fish left by the refluent waters, and these fish they catch in nets formed of rushes or seaweed. Neither tree nor shrub is visible on these shores. The drink of the people is rain water which they preserve with great care; their fuel, a sort of turf, which they gather and form with the hand. And yet," he concludes in a burst of arrogant amazement, "these unfortunate beings dare to complain against their fate, when they fall under the power and are incorporated with the empire of Rome."

The same traits that Pliny saw, one sees to-day among the Dutch peasantry, who still patiently toil to snatch from the sea a hard-won sustenance. And the same resolute defiance that puzzled the haughty Roman has astounded many a conqueror since. Age after age these dwellers on the bleak sand dunes have preferred liberty above comfort, above wealth, and even above life itself.

Cæsar, writing about a century before Pliny, gives us our earliest glimpse at these Netherlanders. He found the district occupied by tribes partly Gallic, partly German, the fiercest fighters he had anywhere encountered. The southern, more Gallic region having been longer snatched from the sea, was covered with a vast, dense forest, amid whose twilight deeps he fought ferocious tribes. Among them were the Nervii, who saw resistance hopeless yet refused all submission and were well nigh exterminated; and the Belgæ, whose name became a general term for the entire region, whence our modern "Belgium."

Farther north Cæsar found the Batavians or people of the *bet-auw* (good meadow land) the group of islands formed by the diverging mouths of the Rhine. From them Holland (hole-land, hollow-land) was long called the Batavian Republic.* These Batavians in their impenetrable swamps were never really mastered by the Romans. They became allies of the great conquerors, famous as the dashing "Batavian cavalry." From them was drawn the trusted body guard of Augustus, the nucleus of the Prætorian guard.

Beyond the Rhine, the strange half-land, half-water region was occupied by the Frisians, a wild Germanic race who, like the Batavians, became the dependent

*Some etymologists derive the name from holt-land or woodland.

FINDING THE SOUTH POLE

(The Explorer Amundsen Testing His Exact Position at the Pole)

A drawing from Amundsen's description, by Frederic de Haenen

THE year 1912 brought Norway once more before the eyes of the world; for it was a Norwegian, Captain Roald Amundsen, who penetrated to the South Pole, the last region of our planet which had remained unknown. There are still bits of outline to be added to our maps of the far North and South. There are still jungles in Africa and South America and the Indies where the white man has not penetrated. But the last large gap has been filled. What Peary did for the North, Amundsen has done for the South. The extremes of earth have been explored.

Five men, including Captain Amundsen, left their ship, the Fram, about 700 miles from the pole and traveled with dog sledges over the ice field covering Ross Sea to within about 300 miles of their goal. Then they encountered a land of tremendously high mountains, and climbed a glacier to an altitude of over 10,000 feet. At this elevation, along the summit of a huge table-land, they traveled through most bitterly cold and stormy weather to the pole. They traveled in December, which, it must be remembered, is midsummer in the southern hemisphere, and gained the pole on December 14, 1911; though news of their success did not reach the world till some months later. They spent three days at the pole, making observations of the sun to assure themselves of their exact position.

allies but never the defeated slaves of Rome. Indeed, the Romans relied much upon these friendly tribes in the attempt to conquer Germany. Batavia was the gathering place of the Roman troops and ships against the German national hero, Arminius. Frisian seamen manned their vessels, Frisian pilots guided them through the indescribable chaos of sea and land. When the legions of Drusus retreated before Arminius to the North Sea coast (A. D. 15) the boats which brought him back to Batavia were largely Frisian. Two of his legions could not be taken on shipboard and were forced to march along the treacherous coast. Tacitus, the Roman historian, paints for us a weird picture of the place and of their peril.

"Vitellius [the commander] at first pursued his route without interruption, having a dry shore, or the waves coming in gently. After a while, through the force of the north wind and the equinoctial season, when the sea swells to its highest, his army was driven and tossed hither and thither. The country too was flooded; sea, shore, fields, presented one aspect, nor could the treacherous quicksands be distinguished from solid ground or shallows from deep water Men were swept away by the waves or sucked under by eddies; beasts of burden, baggage, lifeless bodies, floated about and blocked their way. The companies were mingled in confusion, now with the breast, now with the head only, above water, sometimes losing their footing and parted from their comrades or drowned. The voice of mutual encouragement availed not against the adverse force of the waves. There was nothing to distinguish the brave from the coward, the prudent from the careless, forethought from chance; the same strong power swept everything before it. At last Vitellius struggled out to higher ground and led his men up to it."

The name of the Roman general Drusus, or Germanicus as his countrymen entitled him, is the first that can be distinctly associated with the development of the Netherlands. Drusus built embankments or dykes to protect his armies from these sudden tides, and he dug canals that his ships might pass from river to river without venturing on the dangerous North Sea, for whose terrors Tacitus can not find words, declaring it inhabited by strange monsters and frightful water birds.

Drusus also began the apportioning of the land west of the Rhine into regular provinces. The Netherlands and the region just south of them were thereafter known as Germania Inferior or Lower Germany. Cities sprang up, Cologne and Nymwegen. Civilization progressed rapidly even among the slow Batavians, who were ridiculed by the poet Martial for being as stupid as they were sturdy, as foolish as fierce.

Our knowledge of these people and of their day closes abruptly with the last fragment of Tacitus. He tells with full detail of the revolt of Germania Inferior during the confusion caused by the fall of Nero (68 A. D.). Claudius Civilis, a Batavian leader, whose services had made him a general under Rome, urged his people to rebel. In a famous speech he cried out that the Romans no longer

treated the Batavians as allies, but ground them down as slaves. A prophetess called Veleda, deeply revered by the Germanic race, lent Civilis her aid. The Belgæ and other Gauls joined him, and the Roman legions were defeated and wholly driven out of the region (69 A. D.). A year later, they returned. The Gauls were subdued; Batavia was ravaged, but the Batavians and some Germans from beyond the Rhine continued the struggle, roused to frenzy by the impassioned prophecies of Veleda. Civilis made a determined and skillful resistance, and after several battles, a conference between him and the Roman general was arranged to take place upon a bridge over the river Yssel. The centre of the bridge was purposely broken away; Civilis advanced upon the ruin from one shore, the Roman from the other—and there our only manuscript of Tacitus breaks off and leaves them standing. What became of Civilis and the prophetess, we do not know.

Vaguely from other sources, we gather a general impression that the Batavians thereafter were treated with greater wisdom and justice. They remained loyal to the empire even in the days of its decline, and their race was almost exterminated in the constant strife with the hordes of Franks, Burgundians, and other Germans who in the fourth and fifth centuries surged over the feeble barrier of the Rhine and swept into Gaul. In the confused maelstrom of seething, wandering tribes that followed the downfall of Rome, the people of the low countries must have become widely scattered over Gaul. The Frisians indeed, remained upon their barren coasts, which no one coveted. But the Batavians disappeared as a separate race, and their "good meadow land" became the chief home of the Salian Franks.

These Salians gradually extended their power southward, over the ancient land of the Belgæ, and finally Clovis, the leader of the Salian Franks, rose to be the first king of France. Most of the Franks moved southward in the wake of Clovis, and by degrees portions of the Frisians occupied the land thus left almost vacant. Hence, roughly speaking we may say, that the Hollanders of to-day are the descendants of the Frisians with some small admixture of Batavians and Franks. The race, therefore, is almost wholly Teutonic, though with traces of the Roman and the Gaul. The Belgians are Franks and ancient Belgæ with a fuller Roman tint, half Teuton and half Gaul.

In Ancient Flanders

(The Medieval Provinces Now Included in Holland and Belgium)

THE NETHERLANDS

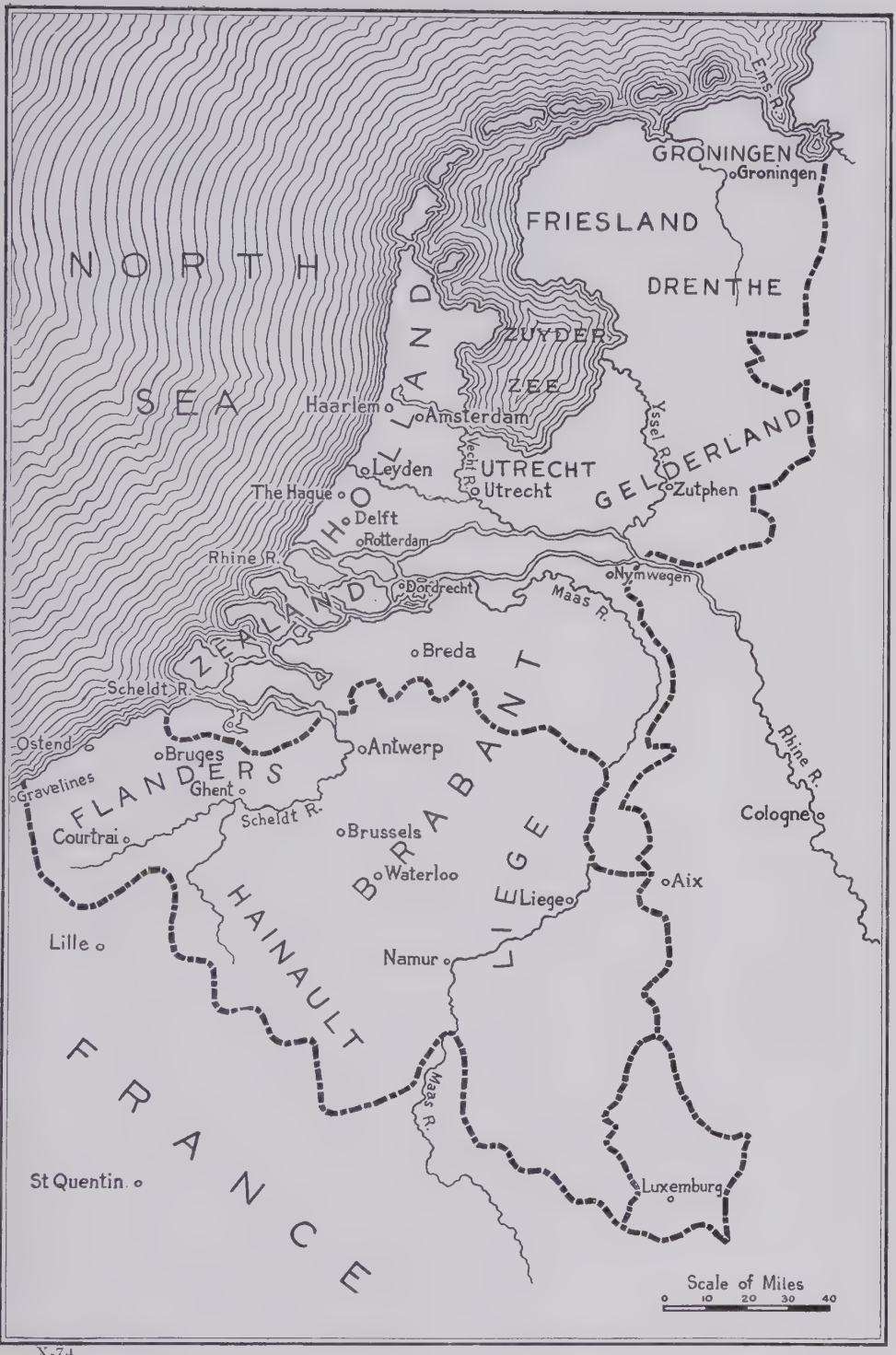
(The Mediæval Provinces Now Included in Holland and Belgium)

Prepared specially for this series by Austin Smith

THE region shown here upon our map is geologically the newest land in Europe. That is to say, it is the low land formed by the delta of the Rhine and its neighboring rivers. Long after the rest of Europe existed, the Rhine, bearing down masses of earth from the mountains, kept filling up the shallow seas around its mouth, and so constructing Holland and northern Belgium. Hence in the middle ages these regions were called the "low lands" or Netherlands.

Only within the past century have they been apportioned into the two countries of Holland and Belgium. Always before that they had constituted a doubtful borderland between France and Germany, divided into many small provinces. Some of these were at times independent; at others they passed under German or French or even Spanish dominion. Most important of these mediæval provinces were the great bishoprics of Liege and Utrecht, the duchy of Brabant, and the counties of Flanders, Holland and Gelderland.

Even these distracted and divided Netherlands had at least two periods of greatness, the first that of the South, the rich and powerful trading cities, Ghent, Bruges and Liege, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the second that of the North, the heroic republic of Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.


NORTH SEA
GRONINGEN
Groningen
Ems R.
FRIESLAND
DRENTHE
ZUYDER ZEE
HOLLAND
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Leyden
The Hague
Delft
Rotterdam
Vecht R.
UTRECHT
Utrecht
Yssel R.
GELDERLAND
Zutphen
Rhine R.
Dordrecht
Nymwegen
Maas R.
ZEALAND
Breda
Scheldt R.
Ostend
Bruges
Gravelines
FLANDERS
Ghent
Antwerp
BRABANT
Rhine R.
Cologne
Courtrai
Scheldt R.
Brussels
Waterloo
LIEGE
Aix
Liege
HAINAULT
Lille
Namur
FRANCE
Maas R.
St Quentin
Luxemburg
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40

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THE FLEMISH CRUSADERS

Chapter II

THE FEUDAL AGE

[*Authorities:* As before, also Motley, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic"; Maerlant, "Historical Mirror"; Melis Stoke, "Poetical Chronicle"; "Royal Chronicles of Cologne."

WE have seen how the ancient civilization of Rome laid its hand upon the Netherlands, firmly upon the Batavians of the Rhine mouth and the Belgæ further south, but very feebly in the north, the wild Frisian sea-land of mystery and fear. Let us look now for the first faint glimmerings by which these regions become visible in a more modern light.

Batavia, the "good meadow" in the Delta of the Rhine, remained for centuries a doubtful border district between Frisians and Franks. The Frisians were heathen and wholly barbarian; the Franks adopted Christianity and assimilated something of the culture of the Roman world they had overrun. One Frankish king, Dagobert I, a descendant of Clovis, made a determined effort to convince the Frisians of the force and reasonableness of Christianity. He marched an army into their unprotected land and in 622 erected a church at Utrecht. But the sand dunes and the mists and marshes soon grew wearisome to Dagobert, so he marched home again. The Frisians came to examine his church, and it disappeared. After that the Frankish kings grew feeble, and the defense of the Batavian border was left to the local chiefs. We find the Pepins, who were to supersede the family of Clovis on the Frankish throne, first rising into prominence in this valiant strife. Both of the royal races which supplied the early sovereigns to France and Germany

had thus their origin in the Netherlands, which to-day belong to neither country.

Pepin of Landen, the earliest distinguishable ancestor of the mighty Charlemagne, was lord of Brabant, the frontier land along the Maas River, which he held against the Frisians. His grandson Pepin of Heristal, defeated Radbod, King of the Frisians, and compelled him to diminish his title to that of Duke, as a subject of the Franks. This Pepin was the real chief of the Franks, "Mayor of the Palace" to a sluggard king. Yet despite Pepin's power his son, Charles Martel, had to fight Radbod again, and later was obliged to defeat Radbod's son before the resolute Frisians would yield him even a nominal sovereignty.

Charles Martel refounded Dagobert's vanished church at Utrecht and made the Irish Saxon Willibrod, the first bishop of the northern Netherlands. Willibrod's labors extended from 692 to 739 and under him such small portion of the Frisians as accepted the Frankish yoke, began the practice of a sort of hybrid faith, mingling their ancient superstitions and barbarous rites with fragments of the Christian ritual, little understood. Willibrod was followed in his episcopate by Winfred or Boniface, an English Saxon, the celebrated converter of the Germans. Boniface, dissatisfied with the debased and debasing worship of his Utrecht flock, insisted upon fuller conformity with the teachings of the Church, and met a martyr's death, welcoming his slayers with open arms (775).

The first real conqueror of the Frisians was Charlemagne himself. He was probably born in one of his family's ancestral homes in Belgium near Liege, and gained his earliest warlike training in strife with these wild pagans of the marshland. During his first Saxon wars, the Frisians aided their Saxon kinsmen; but by degrees the mingled kindness and sternness of Charlemagne won them to his side. Half of them, however, were slain before this result was achieved, or they were transported by the resolute monarch to other portions of his domains.

By wisdom rather than by force Charlemagne attached the remainder to his empire. They were confirmed in the proud title by which they called themselves, "the Free Frisians." Thus reassured, they were induced to look with some favor upon Christianity, hitherto sternly rejected as being a mark of submission to the Franks. Charlemagne gave them a written constitution guaranteeing their ancient laws. "The Frisians" so runs the wording, probably far older than the date when it was written down, "shall be free so long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands."

If we attempt to picture the Netherlands at the time they were thus incorporated into the empire of Charlemagne, that is at the opening of the ninth century, we see in the North a land still unformed, where churches were built on artificial hills, and bishops went about in boats, where a few rude dykes held back the waters in some places, and a few rude canals, sadly decayed since Roman days, partly regulated the rivers' overflow. Utrecht or Trajectum was the only town of note,

VELEDA ROUSES THE NETHERLANDS

(A Prophetess Stirs the Netherlanders to Revolt Against Rome)

From a painting by the French artist, Georges Moreau, of Tours

OLDEST of all the known people of the Netherlands were the Frisians, from whom the province of Friesland is still named. Way back in Roman days these Frisians dwelt in this strange region. It was not then defended from the sea by dykes; the waters of the ocean swept at will over the low sand banks, and they were desolate, untouched by vegetation or by animal life. Only man ventured here. The Frisians built their huts on piles raised above the waters, and subsisted chiefly upon fish. Rome never conquered them; she could not reach them. So she made a sort of friendly alliance with them, promising them eternal freedom. They were known as "the free Frisians."

When Rome had conquered all France and part of Germany she became more tyrannical in her attitude toward the Netherland people, and these began a great revolt under a leader whom the Romans called Civilis. He had risen to be a general in Rome's service. But now he and his countrymen were roused by a prophetess called Veleda, who promised them renewed freedom. Civilis and his followers, now half-trained to Roman methods of warfare, defeated the Romans more than once and finally made peace with them, apparently on terms which re-established their liberty. Thus we find the Netherlands asserting from the very beginning a sturdy independence.

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though Charlemagne built a palace at Nymwegen. The people, recently converted, were still rude and barbarous. Yet they cultivated farms, were sole masters of the art of weaving a certain much admired cloth, and were already noted as shrewd and venturesome traders, driving their cattle and horses for sale as far as Paris. They were sailors, too, and sought the markets of England as far north as York.

In the south, civilization rose much higher. There were several important cities including not only Liege, the Carlovingian home, but also Ghent and Bruges, Brussels and Antwerp. One chronicler speaks of the land as "rich" Brabant, "overflowing with milk and honey." The dykes and canals were extensive and well protected, whole communities sharing amicably in their carefully regulated benefits. In Flanders there were even "guilds," that is, associations, among citizens pledging the members to mutual support in case of disaster. These took on a political tone of opposition to government oppression, and in consequence they were suppressed by Charlemagne and his successors. Unfortunately the full details and purposes of these ancient associations have not been handed down to us, but the guilds evidently stand at the basis not only of the city development of the Middle Ages, but also of modern trade unionism.

Thus, whether we look to the "guilds" in Flanders, or to the written constitution of the "Free Frisians," we find that, in the Netherlands, the ancient liberty of the savage was never wholly lost, never wholly forgotten. It struggled on against all the tyranny of the feudal ages, and brought forth the earliest flower of liberty in modern times.

The bright promise of Charlemagne's reign faded, as we know, in every portion of his broad empire. His son and grandsons exhausted in civil war the lives and resources of their people. The Northmen plundered the coasts almost with impunity.

Then ensued a period of direst tragedy. The North Sea coast was of all lands the most exposed to the Norse raids, and it was harried without mercy. Utrecht, the bishop's city, was plundered as early as 834. Soon all Friesland lay wholly in the invaders' power. They came there year after year, and established permanent camps to avoid the necessity of returning home between expeditions. Ghent was seized by them in 851. They learned to use horses instead of ships, and rode unopposed over all the Netherlands.

What portion of the original inhabitants remained in the conquered lands, it would be difficult to say. Those who survived were ruled by Norse dukes, Heriold, Roruk, and Godfrey. The last named is even called "King of Friesland." He extended his ravages beyond Cologne, and his men stabled their horses in its cathedral built by Charlemagne. The feeble Carlovingian Emperor made Godfrey duke of the regions he had plundered (882); the inhabitants were little better than his slaves. During his reign every "free Frisian" was compelled to go about with a halter looped around his neck.

But the relief of the peasantry was near. Duke Godfrey enlarged his demands. His territories, he said, produced no wine, therefore he must have lands higher up the Rhine. He interfered in the civil wars of the Carlovingians, and was slain (885). A few years later, the German Emperor Arnulf completely broke the power of the Netherland Norsemen in the great battle of Louvain (891).

After Louvain, the Netherlanders were left to themselves. The Emperors were too desperately beset elsewhere to give much attention to this impoverished portion of their domains; the influx of the Norse sea robbers had exhausted itself. Dukes, counts and bishops, acknowledging some vague allegiance to Emperor or Pope or to the King of France, bore such rule as to themselves seemed good, over such regions as they could master. Most prominent of the lordships that thus developed, were those of the Counts of Holland, and of Flanders, the Dukes of Lorraine, and of Brabant, and the Bishops of Utrecht, and of Liege.

Flanders was the district west of the Scheldt, that is the most Gallic portion of the Netherlands, adjoining France and partly belonging to it, though the inhabitants, the Flemings, were mainly Germanic and regarded themselves as a race wholly separate from the French. The first remembered Count of Flanders was Baldwin of the Iron Arm, who ruled from 858 to 879. He had been a "chief forester" in the service of the Emperor Charles the Bald, and managed after the reckless fashion of the time to wed his master's daughter, Judith. The lady had already been Queen of England, was widow indeed, of two successive English kings, Æthelwulf and Æthelbald, when Baldwin carried her off perforce from her villa at Senlis and made her his bride. The Northmen were not the only robbers of the age. The Emperor after much show of empty wrath, finding that Judith herself seemed not over-angry, made peace with Baldwin and confirmed the marriage, was glad to make such peace perhaps, for along all that coast the iron-armed Fleming stood alone as a bulwark against the Norsemen.

The sons and grandsons of Baldwin and his queen, inherited the fame and the rank of their sire, and upheld them well. They acted as independent monarchs, not hesitating to war against the King of France or even the Emperor when occasion came. Indeed Baldwin IV "of the Comely Beard" defeated both Emperor and King and extorted additions to his territory from both Germany and France. His son, Baldwin V, was Count of Flanders when William the Conqueror won England and William wedded the Fleming's daughter after having been twice repulsed by the haughty lady. Baldwin VII was known as Baldwin of the Axe. Armed with his favorite weapon, an iron axe, he established peace and insisted on its preservation throughout the land. Many a robber baron fell beneath the axe or was seized and executed at the complaint of the peasantry. Another Baldwin, the ninth, headed a crusade and made himself Emperor of Constantinople (1204) rather neglecting his government at home for the sake of

FLIGHT OF THE CLERGY FROM UTRECHT

(The Bishop of Utrecht, the Last Champion of Civilization in the Netherlands Flees from the Northmen)

From a painting by E. Chigot

IN the days of Rome's downfall, the Netherlands suffered more perhaps than any other part of Europe from the ravage and destruction of those "Dark Ages" of barbarity and ignorance. The land became almost depopulated. Charlemagne did what he could for its desolate wastes, repairing the Roman canals and sea walls and building his capital of Aix or Aachen close to the borders of Belgium, so that he might beat back the barbarians of the north. This great ruler even refounded cities in the Netherlands and established the bishopric of Utrecht far out among the sand dunes to be the center and stronghold of civilization there.

But after Charlemagne's death came the Northmen, the dreaded sea-rovers of Scandinavia. These pirates found the Netherlands the first shore they encountered in sailing southward; so they plundered it again and again, until it was once more a desert. Even the sturdy and devoted bishops of Utrecht gave up at last, and fled, as our picture shows them, with all their churchly treasures, to more sheltered regions. They left their stronghold empty in its useless solitude.

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his glory abroad, and leaving Flanders to much internal disaster and civil war.

Farther north the Counts of Holland emerge from obscurity in 992, when a certain Count Dirk of Kennemerland, having shown himself a gallant warrior against the Northmen, was by Charles the Simple intrusted with the defense of the entire region around him and given the title of Dirk I of Holland. He was followed by a long line known among their people as Dirk (Dietrich, Theodoric) or Floris (Florence), several of whom rose to prominence and extended their sway over Friesland and Zealand, as well as over their own smaller province among the Rhine morasses to which the name Holland was at first confined.

These Counts were at constant war with their rivals, the Bishops of Utrecht. The German Emperors, dreading the ever increasing influence of the Holland Counts over the wild Frisians, sought to weaken the rebellious noblemen by conferring their fiefs upon the more loyal Bishops. But not even to the Emperor would the sturdy Dirks yield an inch of territory. So between Utrecht and Holland there was constant strife. One war specially memorable began in 1058, when Holland was invaded by the warlike Bishop William I, at the head of his own troops, a large number of neighboring allies and also a great force sent in the name of the child Emperor, Henry IV. Count Floris I of Holland, met the overwhelming masses of his enemies at Dordrecht, entrapped their cavalry in pits and then scattered their infantry. The chronicles of the time with their usual prodigality of numbers, assert that sixty thousand of the allied troops were slain.

Undiscouraged by the disaster, Bishop William, the mightiest prelate of his age, raised a second army of invasion. This also Floris repelled; but exhausted by his personal efforts in the battle, he, rather imprudently it would seem, lay down beneath a tree to sleep. There he was found by some of the enemy who, having killed him, attacked and slew the larger portion of his men (1060).

The defeat seemed to portend the total extinction of the county of Holland; for Dirk, the little son of Floris, was but a child. Bishop William took possession of the helpless land; whereupon the desperate widow of Floris sought aid from the Flemings and married Robert, a son of their great Count Baldwin V. Robert fought so valiantly for Holland that the Emperor, Bishop William's protector, sent to the scene an Imperial army under Godfrey the Hunchback, Duke of Lorraine (1071). Robert was driven back upon the coast lands, forced to take refuge among the marshes and the dunes. "Count of the waters," he is dubbed by the jesting chroniclers.

For a time Godfrey and Bishop William held all Holland and Friesland in their hands. This, however, was the period of the first great strife between Emperor and Pope. The young Emperor Henry IV had not yet bowed to Pope Gregory at Canossa; instead he was upheld and encouraged in his defiance of the Papal power by both Duke Godfrey and Bishop William, the two most powerful

of his subjects. So long as they lived the Emperor was triumphant. It was William who led the council of Worms in passing the resolution to depose the "perfidious monk on the papal throne;" and from his great cathedral at Utrecht, William preached to the Imperial court a most fiery sermon against the Pope. On the very day of his preaching, according to the story, lightning blasted his cathedral. That same year he died (1076); Godfrey of Lorraine perished also, assassinated in the city of Delft, which he himself had built to be the capital of his new possessions in Holland. The sudden death of these, the two strongest supporters of the Emperor, was very generally regarded as an evidence of the wickedness of upholding him against the Pope.

In the civil war that broke out everywhere against Henry, little Dirk of Holland recovered his possessions, the more readily since his step-father Robert had now become Count of Flanders, and the new Duke of Lorraine was that Godfrey of Bouillon who headed the first Crusade.

Crusading was much in favor among the Netherland barons, and perhaps it was a fortunate thing for the exhausted provinces that the military ardor of their rulers thus found vent at a distance rather than at home. The wars among the various lordships became less frequent and less extravagant. We hear of no more indecisive battles with "sixty thousand slain;" though perhaps this is only because we approach nearer days and more exact mathematics. The strife of Emperors and Popes continued. In 1248, the Pope having declared the Emperor Frederick II deposed, Count William II of Holland was chosen as the Emperor's successor and solemnly inaugurated. Soon however, he was compelled to hurry home to suppress a formidable revolt among the Frisians. It was winter, and the marshmen lured him onward over the frozen shallows until he and his heavily armored horse broke through the ice. He could neither fight nor flee, and the peasants slew him in triumph (1256).

Holland was thus plunged again into turmoil; and indeed all Germany suffered for twenty years from "the Great Interregnum," during which there was no Emperor, and every locality, every little town, had to depend upon itself for defense against the swarms of robber bands which revelled in the universal anarchy. In the tumult and disaster Friesland almost disappears from our view, but we know that in 1282, a sudden great inrushing of the waters swept away the protecting sand dunes, and the ocean flooded much of the ancient land. The broad "Zuyder Zee" or sea was formed where before had been only a lake. Towns and villages were destroyed, and fifteen thousand people drowned despite boats and dykes and every other aid. The whole face of the land was changed. Friesland was cut in two. What little was left of the province south of the Zuyder Zee was easily annexed by Holland. The isolated northern portion became practically independent, a republic of the poor, a dangerous far-off wilderness which no army would dare to penetrate, where no noble would care to live.

THE RISE OF THE FLEMISH CITIES

(Count Baldwin VI of Flanders Makes a Contract With the City Leaders Pledging Them Liberty)

From a painting by the Flemish artist, A. Hennebecq

OF the centuries during which the Netherlands were held by the Northmen we know very little. Gradually this region settled into a form of feudal civilization, as did the rest of Europe. When again we have any record of these sorely suffering people we are not even sure as to what extent they are still Frisians, descendants of the ancient natives, or how far we should regard them as Northmen or perhaps as a new incursion of Franks and Germans. At all events we find them building cities, each little community maintaining itself by force against the others.

Flanders stands out earlest as an important "county," ruled by a series of sturdy chieftains named Baldwin. But these Baldwins were not absolute rulers, for as early as at least the year 1070 we find a document by which one of them, Count Baldwin VI, grants a charter of liberties to the cities within his domain. It is to this charter that all the southern Netherlands looks back as the beginning of its civic liberties. Count Baldwin swore to his assembled subjects that he would not attempt to seize their towns with his soldiers or to exact moneys from them; and in return the burghers swore to support him in war with both men and money against all invaders of the land.

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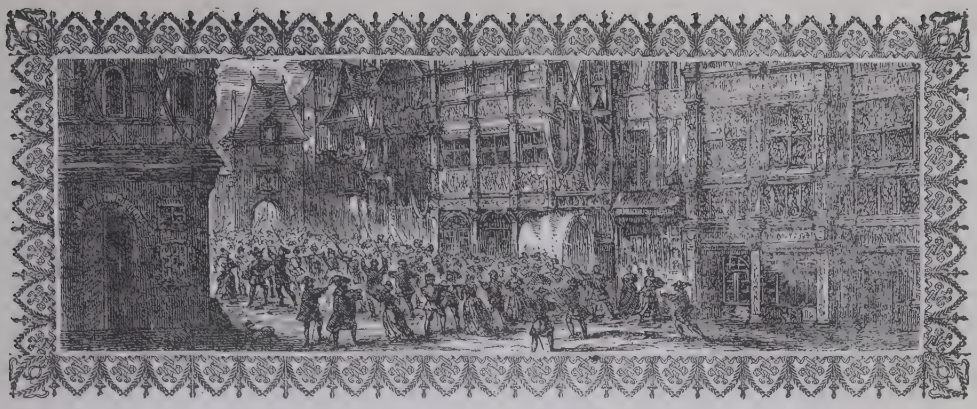

THE ATTACK ON VAN ARTEVELDE

Chapter III

RISE OF THE GREAT CITIES

[*Authorities:* As before, also Blok, "History of the People of the Netherlands"; Juste, "History of Belgium"; Froissart, "Chronicles"; Comines, "Memoirs."]

DOWN to the close of the thirteenth century, we can extract from the records of the Netherlands little except the titles of its nobles and the dreary tale of their endless, profitless wars waged for a little territory, a little honor more or less. But by the year 1300, the Low Country cities had grown greater than their lords. In this land and in this alone of all Europe, do the citizens stand out during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, as holding a more prominent place than either the nobility or kings.

It is worth noting that there had never been any real monarchs of the low countries. The Romans accepted the Batavians as allies. Even Charlemagne left the "Free Frisians" their own laws. The shadowy Norse king endured but for a moment. France never claimed supremacy except over part of Flanders; and the German Emperors were constrained to exercise their feeble authority over the Netherlands by deputy through its own local rulers, Bishops of Utrecht or Liege, or Dukes of Lorraine. The Counts of Flanders or of Holland might indeed be regarded as independent kings of their domains, especially after the "Great Interregnum," during which young Dirk of Holland completely humbled Utrecht. Both of these semi-regal houses however, waned in power, while the cities of the land grew strong and, recognizing their strength at last, asserted their supremacy.

How was it that these cities had so advanced in wealth, in population and in-

telligence? The story is not clear to read, though much study has been expended on it and argument has waxed hot. Dimly we know that the great Flemish municipalities, Ghent and Bruges, came down from Roman times and were never wholly destroyed. Utrecht and Liege grew up as bishop's courts, then turned upon their feeble masters. The other more northern cities were of later growth. Wealth came to all of them through industry and trade. The Flemings were the cloth weavers of Europe; the towns of Holland held control of the fisheries at a time when all Catholic Europe dined on fish during the long periods of abstinence commanded by the Church. The Netherlanders, like the Frisians of old, were bold travellers by both land and sea, shrewd traffickers, and sturdy holders of their own. They became the merchants of Europe. As to their liberties, these had been granted inch after inch by generations of Dutch and Flemish counts who, cautious bargainers themselves, had seen that there was much more to be gained by a steady income of taxation from prosperous merchants than could be secured by a single complete plundering, which would leave the victims without means to continue their profitable toil. So the Dirks and Baldwins, the Godfreys of Lorraine and the Johns of Brabant had encouraged trade.

Various Netherland cities seem to have had charters or some sort of grant which made them partly self-governing, as early as 1060. Belgium celebrates its civic independence as originating in a document conferred on the municipalities of Flanders by Baldwin VI. Then comes a more definite event. In 1127, when Charles the Good was Count of Flanders, there came a famine in Bruges. A few of the leading merchants and lesser nobles gathered all the grain into their barns and held it for famine prices. Despite their protests, Charles ordered the granaries thrown open to the people. A conspiracy was formed against him by the disappointed speculators, and he was slain. Then the people rose in their fury against the murderers, besieged them in their castles and mansions and killed them all, those who were captured being tortured to death.

Following on this grim tragedy and grim reprisal, the men of Bruges and other places took oath to one another (1128) that they would acknowledge no prince who did not rule the country honestly and well. From this period we may fairly date the beginning of the supremacy of the cities or, as they and their people are sometimes called, the communes. These did not yet assert independence, but they began to recognize their own strength, to trust in themselves. Their era of wealth and splendor also commenced. A writer of the times asserts that in 1184, Ghent sent twenty thousand armed men to aid the King of France, and Bruges sent many thousand more. We need not accept the numbers as exact, but it is certain that at this time Flanders held over forty cities, Brabant had twelve, Hainault seven, Liege six. By the year 1240, the preponderance of the cities was so established that Count Guy of Flanders was aided in his government by an "ad-

BALDWIN OF THE AXE

(Count Baldwin VII of Flanders Punishes the Robber Nobles With Death)

From a painting by the Flemish artist, Joseph Lies

STRONG in the allegiance of their city folk, the later Counts Baldwin of Flanders became among the most powerful nobles of their time. The successor of Baldwin VI, his son Baldwin VII, became known as Baldwin of the Axe, because of his customary and effective use of that weapon. This ruler proclaimed himself openly as the champion of the common folk. Flanders was infested, as was all western Europe, by robber nobles who plundered the peasantry at will. Baldwin besieged one after another of the castles of these haughty plunderers; and when he captured them, he summoned against them as witnesses the victims of their robberies. This confronting of nobles and peasants deeply impressed all the people of the time, especially as Count Baldwin acted as both judge and jury, and often as executioner as well. A nobleman convicted of wrong was put to death upon the spot, sometimes by the Count's axe, sometimes by torture.

Thus Flanders became a safe land to live in, and a prosperous one, escaping the tyranny of the aristocracy at an earlier period than any of the neighboring regions. Aided by this freedom, its cities grew strong, and its rulers also. As early as the twelfth century the Flemings were accounted the wealthiest people and their Counts the strongest rulers in all Europe.

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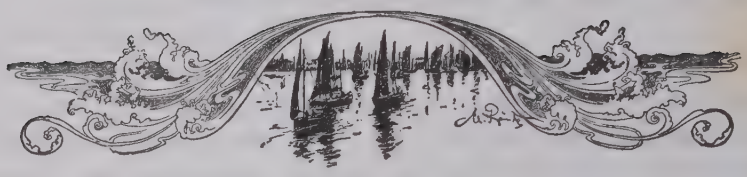
visory council," consisting of the head magistrates of the five principal communes.

In the north the cities were slower of development. In all of what we now call Holland, there were at the close of the twelfth century not more than seven or eight chartered cities, and it was not until 1296, that the northern towns imitated their neighbors of the south by combining in opposition to the nobles. The occasion was similar to that which had roused the Flemings against the murderers of Charles the Good. Floris V of Holland had been shifting his alliance between England and France. Moreover, his nobles were jealous of his great popularity among the common people; they distrusted his designs. So a dark conspiracy was formed, which certainly involved the King of England, and perhaps other foreign rulers as well, though all the secret windings of the treachery may never be unveiled. Floris was decoyed to Utrecht and there separated from his personal attendants during a hawking party. Deep in the woodlands, he was seized by some of his own nobles, who until the last moment had remained fawning on him with false pledges. Bound hand and foot, he was hurried to the seashore to be sent to England. But news of the seizure had become noised abroad. All along the coasts, the people rose in arms for his rescue; so that the conspirators, unable to escape with their victim by sea, strove to carry him off inland. Again they found themselves encircled by the infuriated people; and in desperation they slew their dangerous prisoner. His sad story has become one of the chief themes of the poetic literature of Holland.

The murder did not save the conspiring nobles. So devotedly had Floris been loved, that the people everywhere swore to avenge his death. The false lords who were proved to have been in the plot were executed; others fled in terror from Holland; and the enfeebled remainder lost much of their authority. The burghers and even the country peasants assumed some voice in governing the land. The line of Floris died out with his weak son John, and there was much war both at home and with the Flemings. Finally whatever dignity still remained attached to the vacant throne of Holland, passed through the female line to the Counts of Hainault.

Meanwhile, the power and splendor of the Flemish cities were reaching to their fullest assertion. Ever since the early days of the partition of Lothair's kingdom (843), the Flemish counts had vaguely acknowledged the King of France as their overlord. But his supremacy remained an idle name until the great battle of Bouvines in 1204. In this decisive contest, the German Emperor Otho, backed by all the forces of the Netherlands, was defeated by the French. Thereafter the Flemings were left without German help, and could scarcely maintain their independent stand alone. The French king asserted more and more authority over them, until the Flemish Counts retained but a shadow of their ancient greatness.

In 1297, Count Guy rebelled against King Philip the Fair, the shrewdest,



BALDWIN IX IN CONSTANTINOPLE

(The Netherlanders Take a Leading Part in the Crusades and the Count of Flanders is Crowned Emperor of the East)

From a painting by the French artist, Louis Gallait

WHEN the crusading enthusiasm swept over Europe in the twelfth century, the Netherlanders with their internal strength and peace were specially secure at home and hence specially ready to venture after glory and religious strife abroad. Godfrey of Bouillon, the celebrated leader of the First Crusade, came from this region. So did many other champions of the Cross. In the Crusade commonly called the Fourth, Baldwin IX of Flanders was the leader.

When Baldwin and his army approached Constantinople they found that its Emperor, the ruler of the remnant of the ancient Roman Empire of the East, was bitterly opposed to them. So the crusaders stormed Constantinople, captured it, and placed Baldwin on its throne as Emperor of the East. Thus a descendant of ancient Frisians and wandering Northmen held the throne of the Cæsars.

In that position, regarding himself as the military defender of Christianity against the hordes of Asia, Baldwin lived and died. The people of Flanders were left more and more to their own government. Thus they grew, ever stronger, until their cities of Bruges and Ghent were the most celebrated in Europe, the largest, the wealthiest and the most independent.

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beat their enemies' brains out as the victims lay helpless before them. The French were utterly defeated. Twenty thousand were slain. Of gilded spurs, emblems of highest rank, seven hundred, or according to some accounts, four thousand were gathered from the battle field. The nobility of France was almost exterminated in that fatal charge.

King Philip hastened to raise fresh forces. The Flemings, drunk with pride and self-confidence, began a war of invasion against Holland; in which they were defeated and their fleet destroyed. The cities quarrelled among themselves. Fresh battles, less decisive than Courtrai, were fought against the French. Amid all these difficulties the resolution of the sturdy merchants seemed only to increase. Their cities were practically emptied of men, the whole nation took the field. King Philip in despair cried out that it seemed to rain Flemings; and he made peace with them, granting almost all they asked.

From this time forward, the Flemish counts become practically exiles from their own land, mere servants of the French king, warring against the Flemish cities with his aid. United, the cities might have defied all foes, but they were generally quarrelling among themselves. Their merchants were rivals for the trade of Europe, and the disasters of one metropolis meant the aggrandizement of others. Only some common danger, imminent and obvious, could ever unite them for a moment.

Ghent was aristocratic in its government and hence was usually to be found in alliance with its count; Bruges was democratic and relied for support upon the smaller towns and country folk. Lille soon became separated from the rest of Flanders, fell into the power of the French King, and was united permanently to France. In 1328, twelve thousand Brugeois were defeated at Cassel by their Count Louis and his Frenchmen, the Flemings standing up heroically against their foes and fighting till the last man fell. After that, Bruges sued for peace, and Ghent became the chief city of the Netherlands.

In 1335, began the long war, the Hundred Years' War between France and England. This had a vast influence upon the fortunes of the Netherlands. In the first place, England was at that time the chief sheep-raising country; and Flanders and the other Belgic provinces, the cloth makers of Europe, imported English wool in vast quantities. This mutually profitable commerce drew England and Flanders into close economic relations. The Flemish count, Louis, after crushing the army of Bruges, grew more and more domineering. He insulted the burghers, and they endured it; he interfered with their English trade, and they rebelled.

At the head of this new rebellion stood the weavers of Ghent, and at the head of the Ghent weavers, chief of their guild, stood Jacques Van Artevelde, sometimes called "the great Fleming," a far-seeing social reformer and revolutionist, destined

THE REVOLT OF THE NORTH

(The Nobles of Holland Capture and Slay Their Lord)

From a painting in 1882 by the Dutch artist, L. de Herterich

DURING these early centuries the northern Netherlands were wilder, more barren, and far less developed than the south. Gradually we see the Bishops of Utrecht arising once more to be as in Charlemagne's time the chief military lords of the North. Then we see them overthrown by the Counts of Holland, one of whom even rose to be an Emperor of Germany. After a time we find these Counts doing as those of Flanders had before, standing out as champions of their people against the nobles. Then, in the year 1296, the cities of the North also asserted their independence.

In the North, however, the freedom of the cities sprang from a noted tragedy. Count Floris V of Holland was beloved by his people and hated by his nobles. He had also asserted his independence against the powerful neighboring kingdoms of France and England. Hence he had among his own subjects many open friends and a few secret foes. The latter planned a hawking party at Utrecht. Count Floris was cunningly separated from his real friends and suddenly attacked by three of his nobles. He defended himself bravely, but was made prisoner and carried away. The peasantry rose in a body to rescue their beloved ruler; his captors were pursued and so hard pressed that they slew their prisoner. The infuriated peasants joined hands with the city folks to achieve revenge. The nobles dared not oppose this united strength. Many of them, both innocent and guilty, fled; others were executed. The cities became the chief power of the North.

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His influence extended far beyond Flanders. The poor folk throughout Europe heard of this land where the commons ruled. Uprisings were attempted in other countries. The Italian poet Petrarch sang of Van Artevelde, and encouraged the rebellion of Rienzi at Rome. The hideous revolt of the Jacquerie in France is attributed to the Flemish example.

In the end, "the Great Fleming" fell a victim to the rash forces he had evoked. Edward of England became too friendly with him, visiting him repeatedly in Ghent, calling him "dear comrade." They stood as godfathers to each other's children. All this aroused the suspicion and perhaps the jealousy of Artevelde's fellow citizens, a suspicion which Count Louis of Flanders knew well how to fan into flame. The intrigues of Louis became so dangerous that Artevelde formed the bold project of stripping him of his rank, and creating a new Count of Flanders, the young English Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards famous in history as the Black Prince.

This was farther than the Flemings would go. They might quarrel with Count Louis, hold him prisoner, slay him even; but they were still loyal to his house, their rulers for uncounted centuries. They accused Van Artevelde of having sold himself wholly to England. There was a sudden tumult; and the great chieftain was slain in the streets, struck down, torn to pieces almost, by a mob of those commons who had been his most devoted adherents (1345).

His passionate plea to his assailants has come down to us in the chronicle of Froissart "Such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: Recollect former times and consider how many favors and kindnesses I have conferred upon you."

Though he could not save himself, Artevelde did not die unavenged. The people recovered from their sudden frenzy and repented of their deed. They accused Count Louis of having fomented the disturbance, and when he came hurrying to reassert his power, they drove him once more out of Flanders. The next year he perished in the English victory at Crecy and was succeeded by his son Louis of Male, the last of the ancient race.

Meanwhile Flanders, released from Artevelde's restraining hand, fell into anarchy. City fought against city; guild against guild. Louis of Male was able to reassert his dominion, though France was too exhausted by the English war to give him aid. Finally another revolt broke out in Ghent in 1380, and Louis laid siege to the city.

Finding themselves in utmost danger, the men of Ghent went to the house of Van Artevelde's son Philip, the godson of the English queen. Philip had lived quietly among his neighbors until he was past the age of forty years. Now, despite

his protests, he was forced for his father's sake to become the leader of the city; and once aroused, Philip proved not unworthy of his people's faith. At first he counselled submission. Ghent was starving; and Philip, going himself to Louis's camp, pleaded for mercy. The Count fiercely demanded that all the citizens should come out to him unarmed and barefoot, with ropes about their necks, to be dealt with as he chose. Philip refused to submit to these grim terms; and the burghers, finding courage in despair, became soldiers again, as their fathers had been under Philip's father.

A famous contest followed. Louis was forced to raise the siege of Ghent; but the merchants of Bruges aided him against their rivals. The lands of Ghent were ravaged. Van Artevelde with his fleets gathered provisions from distant lands. He captured city after city from the Count. Suddenly the troops of Ghent marched upon Bruges and stormed it. Louis and his knights were defeated, and the haughty Count had to hide for his life in the house—under the bed, says one narrator—of a poor widow till he found a chance to flee. Bruges was sacked. So were the other cities that upheld the aristocratic cause. Once more an Artevelde of Ghent became undisputed master of Flanders.

For two years Philip defended his land against all the forces of France and Burgundy combined. But at last his troops were defeated by overwhelming numbers and he himself perished, sword in hand, at the battle of Roosebeke (1382). The town of Roosebeke is close to Courtrai, and the French felt that this victory balanced the defeat "of the spurs." In fact Froissart pauses to point out the importance of Roosebeke as checking the vast movement of peasant revolt which was everywhere in progress. The downfall of the Flemish burghers was a calamity to the common folk through all of Europe.

For two years afterward the men of Ghent still heroically defended their city. But the rest of Flanders yielded to Count Louis. He died in 1384, and as he left no direct heirs, the countship passed through his daughter to her husband, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Philip made peace with Ghent. His supremacy was acknowledged, and as he ruled mildly, yet with all the power of Burgundy behind him, his authority was not opposed. The "heroic age" of the Flemish guilds was at an end. It is generally reckoned as extending from the revolt of Bruges in 1127 to the defeat at Roosebeke, a period of more than two hundred and fifty years.

"THE GREAT FLEMING"

(Jacques Van Artevelde Counsels His Neighbors of Ghent to Defy France)

From a drawing by the French artist, A. de Neuville

THE Netherland cities had, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, reached their fullest power. France tried to conquer them and failed. In 1302 the flower of all the French nobility were almost exterminated by the Flemish townfolk in the great battle of Courtrai. Then came the "Hundred Years War" between France and England; and the Flemings, though nominally subjects of France, espoused the cause of England. Ghent was at this time the chief city of Flanders, and its leading citizen, Jacques Van Artevelde, is often called "the great Fleming."

Kings negotiated with this powerful burgher as with an equal. He was himself a wealthy aristocratic merchant; but he championed the poorer citizens of Ghent, the members of the laboring "guilds," against the rich. Van Artevelde even passed a law that compelled every merchant to join one of these laboring guilds. For himself he became a member of the brewers' guild, and so was called "the brewer of Ghent." The great King Edward III of England courted him, visited him as a friend in Ghent, and stood as godfather to his son. Thus in the end the Flemings became suspicious of their great leader, thinking him too aristocratic. He had saved Flanders from being ground to powder between England and France; he had won Flemish freedom by repeated victories on the battlefield; he had established the first democracy in Europe. Yet his own people quarreled with him and finally slew him during a riot in the streets (1345).

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Mary of Burgundy Entreating Pardon for her Courtiers

Chapter IV

THE BURGUNDIAN PERIOD

[*Authorities:* As before, also Blok, "History of the People of the Netherlands"; Robertson, "History of the Reign of Charles V"; Armstrong, "The Emperor Charles V."]

GRADUALLY the house of Burgundy obtained possession of the entire Netherlands. Philip the Bold was a son of the French King John, and was given the duchy of Burgundy by his father in recognition of his knightly conduct at Poitiers (1356), where almost alone, he had defended his father and striven to protect him from capture by the English.

How Flanders fell to Philip in 1384, we have seen. His grandson Philip the Good secured Holland, Hainault and Brabant. In Holland the ancient line of the Dirks and Florences became extinct (1345), and the sovereignty passed through the female line to what was called the house of Bavaria. There was a long civil war between mother and son, during which the Dutch cities, courted by both sides and taking small part with either, rose to a commercial prosperity rivalling that of the Flemish towns. Utrecht was still only a bishop's see, but Dordrecht, at that time the chief city of the realm, became a great commercial centre. So also did Amsterdam and Delft. The North made such giant strides in advance upon the South, that during the early years of the fifteenth century, William VI of Holland shared equally with the Burgundian dukes in the rule over not only the territory but also the wealth of the Netherlands.

William VI of Holland left no sons, only a daughter Jacqueline whose tragic, romantic, pitiable career is celebrated in history. Even the dry chronicles

of the time cannot tell Jacqueline's story without lamentation, without bursts of poetry. They describe her as being good as she was beautiful, gentle yet strong, and pure and heroic, a worthy rival of her contemporary, Joan of Arc, who was freeing France from England, while Jacqueline fought for Holland against Burgundy.

Her father laid careful plans that she should succeed him in his rule. To this end he wedded her when but a child of five (1406) to the equally youthful John, second son of the King of France. The marriage was of course only nominal at first, but in 1415 the youthful pair were released from their school books and formally united. In 1417, John became heir to the French throne, and his father being insane, he set out with his fair young bride to rule over France as regent. The two journeyed southward together in the springtime, but hardly had they entered France when John suddenly died. He had been a weakling all his life, but both the manner and the moment of his death caused a widespread rumor that he had been poisoned.

The youthful widow was hurried home. Her father, who had accompanied her happy entry into France, now hastened her return. He knew how loath the Hollanders were to be governed by an unprotected woman, and he must make new arrangements for her. Before these could be established, he died. In less than two months poor Jacqueline, barely seventeen years old, lost husband and father, both powerful potentates and her natural protectors. The next male heir to Holland was her uncle, the Bishop of Liege, called John the Pitiless.

For a moment, misfortune seemed to hesitate at further pursuing the child widow. She made a brave, brilliant progress through her domains and was everywhere received with noisy loyalty. When Bishop John sought to assert his claim to Holland, she rode on horseback at the head of her army and defeated him. John appealed to the German Emperor, who, glad of the opportunity to assert himself, declared that the countship of Holland had lapsed to the empire by the failure of male heirs, and that he now conferred the rank upon his faithful and submissive servant, John. The matter being thus put to a plain issue, a general assembly of the Dutch knights and burghers was summoned, and this representative body flatly contradicted the Emperor, declaring that Holland was not a fief of the empire, and that Jacqueline was their lawful ruler.

Nevertheless, in order that she might have a man to assert her rights and to settle the dispute decisively, Jacqueline's advisers urged her to wed again and at once. Yielding to their aged wisdom, the poor countess within less than a year of her first husband's death married another John, the third of that name to become prominent in her life. The suitor thus chosen out of the many who sought the honor of wedding the great heiress, was her cousin, the Duke of Brabant. He was selected by Jacqueline's advisers as a matter of policy, not only because

THE LAST COUNT OF FLANDERS

Count Louis Assisted in Peace by the Victorious Men of Ghent.

From a painting by Ferdinand Bol.

Joined to the clergy of Jacques Van Artevelde. His powerful personality had held all the Flemings united

THE LAST COUNT OF FLANDERS

(Count Louis Assailed in Bruges by the Victorious Men of Ghent)

From a painting by the German artist, A. Zick

THE downfall of Flemish independence may well be traced to the death of Jacques Van Artevelde. His powerful personality had held all the Flemings united. After his death they took to quarreling among themselves. City fought against city. Especially was there bitter strife between the two chief towns, Ghent and Bruges. Thus the Counts of Flanders who had before been living at the French court, exiles from their own land, were enabled to return and even gained some show of power. France was too exhausted by her English wars to lend the Flemish Counts any aid, but by throwing in their lot first with one city, then another, they constantly advanced their fortunes.

At length in 1380 Count Louis, the last of the ancient race of Counts of Flanders, aided Bruges against Ghent. Another Van Artevelde, the son of Jacques, was now the leader of Ghent. He headed his townfolk in a sudden attack. Bruges was stormed and Count Louis seized in the streets. He escaped by hiding under a bed, and so got back to France.

Then came a final decisive battle. Ghent, with only the unwilling troops of her half-conquered neighbor cities to support her, met all the combined forces of France and the rapidly growing state of Burgundy. The Flemings were crushingly defeated, and all the southern Netherlands was annexed to Burgundy. The cause of Flanders had really been that of democracy throughout Europe, so democracy was here set back four hundred years.

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he was ruler of a neighboring state, but because being a member of the house of Burgundy, he would have the support of its powerful duke.

As the man for the place, John of Brabant proved a failure. He was even younger than his wife, and a feeble, enervated youth, one of those sapless, worthless branches so common to the French royal stock. Jacqueline's first husband had been the same, only his early death leaves his figure less clearly outlined on the historic page. John of Liege, on the other hand, was at least a man. The Pope took up his cause and relieved him of his priestly vows that he might found a new family of counts of Holland. Hence he was Bishop John no longer, but only John the Pitiless.

When he and young John of Brabant met in battle or diplomacy the result was a foregone conclusion. John the Pitiless won contest after contest. City after city of Holland declared in his favor, until Jacqueline's feeble husband, abandoning the strife, retreated into Brabant, making a treaty with his rival which left the latter in practical possession of Holland. Naturally Jacqueline protested; but her husband found that bullying her was a far easier and more congenial task than matching himself against John the Pitiless. He ignored her complaints and made her life a misery. Driving away all her Dutch attendants, he surrounded her with his own tools. She was insulted and neglected—and she was not the woman to endure forever.

She fled suddenly from his court, from what was really a prison, and escaped to England (1419). There she was received with high honor. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother and afterward regent of the kingdom for the child Henry VI, became a suitor for her hand. Her marriage to her cousin John of Brabant had been performed in opposition to an express command from the Pope. Advantage was now taken of this to declare the unhappy union void, and Jacqueline and Humphrey were wed. In 1424 the couple led an English army to Holland to reestablish the bride in her inheritance.

They were partly successful. Humphrey defeated the forces of Brabant; the royal pair were welcomed in Hainault; and John the Pitiless died, poisoned by one of their adherents. But even in death he avenged himself by willing Holland to John of Brabant. Now this childless and feeble Brabant Duke had for heir the mighty Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who seizing the opportunity, espoused his nephew's cause with all the strength of his powerful domains. England had long been allied with Burgundy against France; and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester was thus placed in a peculiar position, maintaining his wife's cause against his country's ally. He and Philip had hot words and finally agreed to settle their differences in ancient knightly style by personal combat. Before the contest could take place however, Humphrey, doubtless moved by many mingled emotions, abandoned Holland and withdrew to England.

Poor Jacqueline, thus left once more to her own resources, defended herself desperately against the Burgundians, and sent passionate appealing letters to Humphrey. "By my faith," she writes, "my very redoubted lord, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you for the love of God and St. George, consider the sad situation of me and my affairs more carefully than you have yet done, for you seem to have forgotten me entirely." And again, "Alas, my most dear and redoubted sire, my only hope is in your strength, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings have come from my love of you." Her moving words were of no avail. Her English husband solaced himself with another lady; her subjects in Holland hesitated between her and her discarded John, and at last, seeking peace most of all, surrendered her to Burgundy. She was imprisoned in the castle of Ghent.

Still however, the resolute woman refused to yield. Some of her adherents both in England and Holland yet clung to her. Disguised in boy's clothes, she escaped from her confinement and for three years led a wild life of adventure, fighting at the head of such troops as she could raise. She held her castle of Gouda against all comers, and in the field achieved more than one brilliant victory over the Burgundian forces. Duke Humphrey roused himself sufficiently to send a fleet from England to her aid, but it was wholly defeated. John of Brabant died in 1427, and it were well to record one good thing of him: he was interested in learning and founded the university of Louvain (1425), the earliest in the Netherlands.

His death brought the great duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, more directly into the struggle against Jacqueline. Philip now claimed Holland as his own, and summoned England as his ally to counsel the Countess to peace. On the other hand, Jacqueline, freed from the last traces of her marital chain to John, entreated Duke Humphrey to reestablish their abandoned union. The English Duke most ungallantly obeyed Philip, urged his deserted wife to yield, and wedded the English mistress who had been her rival.

In face of these blows, Jacqueline surrendered (1428). It was agreed that she was still to be called Countess of Holland and to receive some part of the revenues of the state; but she made a progress through all her cities in company with Philip, formally releasing them from allegiance and bidding them be obedient to the Burgundians. She also promised not to wed again without Philip's consent. Her claims might still have been dangerous in some strong king's hands.

Here Jacqueline passes out of political history, the tale of jangling states. But romance was still to be hers, happiness perhaps, after all her sorrows. Philip's governor over Holland was Lord Francis Borselen. The governor's duties threw him much into the company of Jacqueline. Love, most unaccountable of flowers, seems really to have sprung up between the two. In 1432, they were secretly

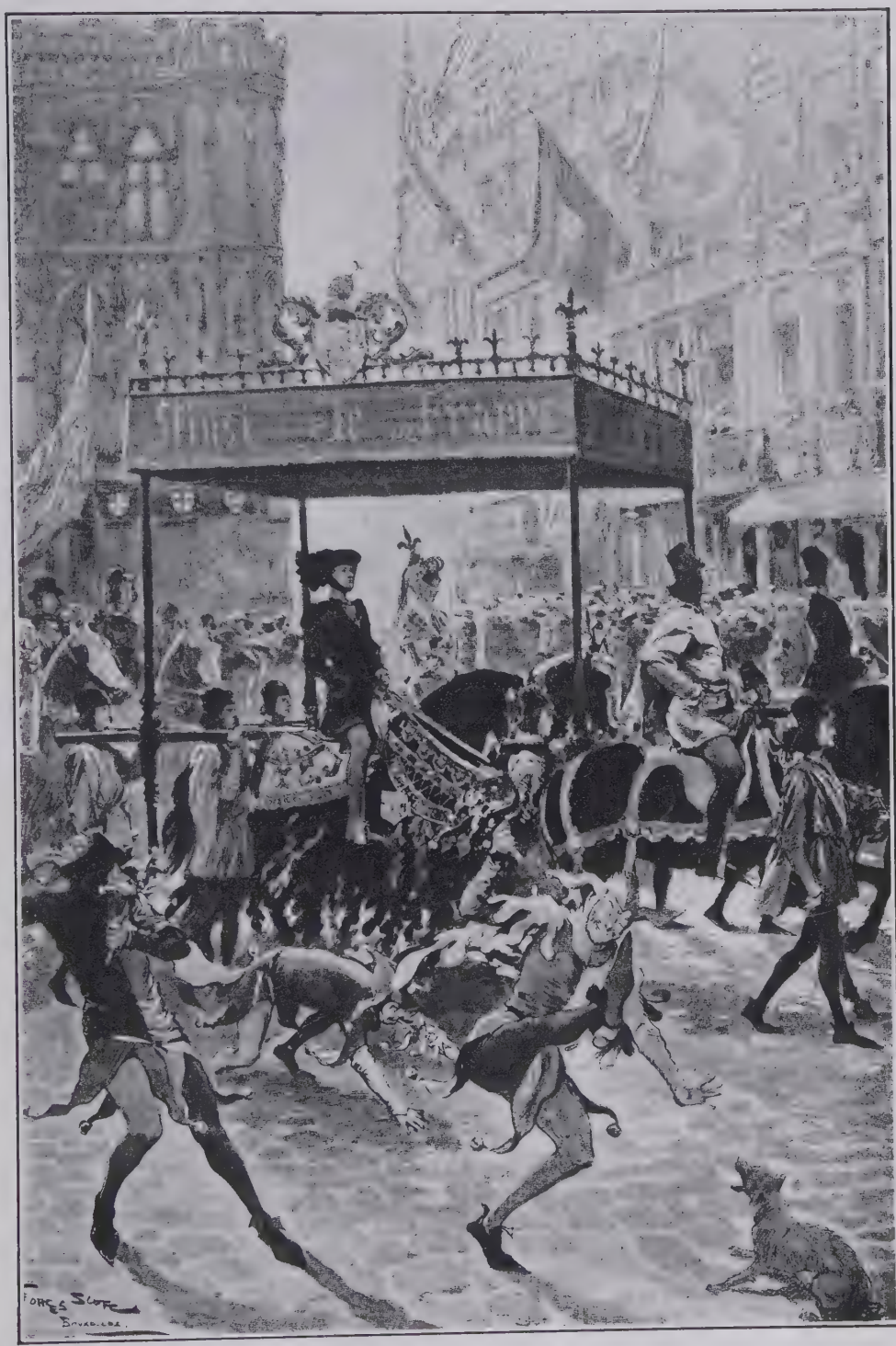
BURGUNDY GAINS HOLLAND

(Countess Jacqueline Rides Through Holland With the Duke of Burgundy Proclaiming Her Surrender)

After a drawing by F. Scott made in Brussels

THE "heroic age" of Flanders disappeared with the defeat of Ghent, and the establishment of Burgundian supremacy in 1384. The great Holland cities, Amsterdam and Dordrecht, also passed, though with less of tumult, under the control of Burgundy. This came about through the tragic fate of Jacqueline, the last Countess of Holland. She, as the inheritor of the domains of the ancient and well-loved Counts of Holland, became ruler of the Dutch cities in 1417. In those grim days, however, a woman had small chance of holding an inheritance except by wedding a powerful husband to defend her. Jacqueline's first husband was a prince of France, but he died. Her counsellors then wedded her, while still little more than a child, to the Duke of Brabant. But when Jacqueline's foes tried to seize her inheritance, the duke proved but a worthless champion, abused and then abandoned her. She wed again, a brother of the English king, and he fought well for her, but was defeated. Thus in the end Jacqueline was compelled to yield to the powerful duke Philip of Burgundy.

Holland had been intensely loyal to its unhappy countess, and she was obliged to ride by Duke Philip's side through each Dutch city formally announcing to its people her abdication of her power in his favor. Then she was allowed to live in peace on her own private estates, where, having thrice married for policy, she now married for love.



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married. Philip learning of this, threw Borselen into prison and threatened his death. To save him Jacqueline abandoned everything that remained to her, renounced her empty title, and with her liberated husband retired to a secluded estate, where the two dwelt in peace and apparent devotion until her death in 1436. Lord Francis was then restored to a post of trust, and had what must have been the keen satisfaction of defeating Duke Humphrey of England when the latter, his alliance with Burgundy having failed at last, attacked the Netherlands once again.

Jacqueline's long struggle is important historically. It must be compared to that of the Arteveldes in Flanders; for little as the Dutch cities realized it, their liberty was dependent upon her victory. She ruled in the policy of her ancestors who had encouraged them in self-reliance and assertion. Her fall placed her people with Flanders under the house of Burgundy, a race of rulers who guarded the material prosperity of their subjects, but vigorously trampled every liberty underfoot.

With the establishment of the supremacy of Philip the Good, the history of the Netherlands becomes merged for a time in that of Burgundy. Philip, though in name only a Duke, was in reality more powerful than any sovereign of his time, imposing his will upon the enfeebled rulers of both France and Germany. At this period only Italy could rival the Low Countries in wealth; and Italy was divided into many petty states; the Netherlands had now been all absorbed into one. Moreover, its military strength while vigorous in Philip's hands, was useless for defense against him, since each city was antagonistic to the others, easily to be brought to Philip's side by some promise of commercial advantage over its rivals.

Hence, playing one metropolis against another, Philip became the despotic master of all. One by one, he took away their ancient privileges. He heaped taxes on them till his was the richest court in Europe. Bruges rebelled (1436), and seized upon the person of the Duke's wife and little son, afterward Charles the Bold. Philip liberated the captives, half by force, half fraud, and blockaded the city until its people starved and surrendered, so trampled down as never to regain their former splendor. Ghent also resented the Duke's exactions, and was vigorously suppressed.

In return for the liberty he took away, Philip gave the Netherlanders security. The nobles who had preyed upon the country from their strong castles and, arms in hand, exacted toll from what merchandise they could, now became dependents of Philip, mere silk-clothed courtiers idling in his train. Hence the Netherland tradesfolk, valuing prosperity and quiet far more than any abstract ideal of self-government, gradually acquiesced in the new order of life. They were in fact the first to give their new ruler the name of "the Good," which sounds oddly enough when contrasted with some of his treacheries and usurpations.

GRANTING "THE GREAT PRIVILEGE"

(Mary of Burgundy Gives a Charter to the Netherlands)

After an antique Flemish print

IT seemed the fate of the Netherlands to fall into the hands of women. Within half a century after Jacqueline had surrendered Holland to the Burgundian dukes, their family also failed to have male heirs, and all their many lands passed to a daughter, Duchess Mary of Burgundy.

Mary's experience nearly paralleled that of poor Jacqueline. King Louis XI of France tried to seize upon her heritage. He did gain part of it; but the rich cities of the Netherlands decided that they would sooner endure Mary's feeble rule than Louis' stern one. So they united in making an agreement with Mary by which they promised to remain loyal if paid for their loyalty by the grant of a charter containing many privileges. This Mary agreed to; and in 1477 she swore to what is called the "Great Privilege" of the Netherlands, granting almost complete independence to the cities. Then the cities defended her against King Louis.

Fortunately for Mary, she chose an able husband, Maximilian of Austria, and he came to the Netherlands and ruled for her. When she died he continued to rule as regent for their baby son Philip. Philip in his turn became Duke of Austria, and thus the Netherlands passed from Burgundy to Austria. Maximilian, as regent, quarreled much with the Flemish cities and finally took away their "Great Privilege." They, however, never forgot that precious charter, and in after years they won it back again.

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Burgundian dukes had wrested from them. So helpless was Mary in the hands of her tyrannical subjects, that they executed two of her chief officials before her very eyes. These men had been detected in treacherous correspondence with Louis XI against Flanders; and though Mary rushed before their judges with dishevelled hair and robe, and appeared afterward at the place of execution in the same desperate plight to plead for her friends upon her knees, the two courtiers were beheaded in the market place of Ghent.

Then came the problem of Mary's marriage, that like Jacqueline she might have "a man to defend her heritage." Her arrogant father had once refused her hand to Maximilian, the son of the impoverished German Emperor. Now the rejected suitor was selected by Mary and her Flemish advisers as the most available of the long list of candidates who approached her. Maximilian, afterward Emperor and head of the great Austrian house of Hapsburg, thus became the bridge by which the low countries passed under the dominion of Austria and afterward of Spain, both of which states came under Hapsburg rule.

Yet Maximilian was never himself the titular sovereign of the Netherlands; he was only guardian of the provinces for Mary, and when she died five years later, he became guardian for their baby son, Philip the Fair. The hatred bred in the Netherlands against Charles the Bold passed down as an inheritance against Maximilian. During Mary's lifetime it did not break into open violence, especially as the Flemings dreaded Louis of France and his dangerous schemes. Maximilian put an end to these by defeating the French in the battle of Guinegate (1479) and Flemish independence of France was again secure. The power of Maximilian seemed to the burghers to become more dangerous with each of his successes; and on his wife's death, instead of admitting his authority, the States-General of Flanders made virtual prisoner of his son Philip and claimed the regency for itself in Philip's name.

Civil war followed between Maximilian and the cities. Step by step the Hapsburg lord re-established his authority. In 1485, he defeated the troops of Ghent and rescued his little son from the hands of the burghers. In 1488, it was their turn. Maximilian was made prisoner in Bruges and confined there for seven months, until he yielded all that his jailors demanded. The French king, not Louis XI but his successor, was made guardian of little Philip; and Maximilian agreed to abandon the Netherlands and return to Germany.

No sooner was he released from confinement, than he repudiated the oaths he had taken under compulsion, and re-invaded the Netherlands at the head of a German army raised for him by his father, the Emperor. He was not specially successful, and for four years more the war dragged on. It was no longer conducted by Maximilian, who as heir to the dominions of his aged father had other tasks, but by his German generals. These in 1492 were able to report to him

THE YOUNG RULER OF THE WORLD

(Charles V Begins His Reign Over Europe by a Procession in Antwerp)

From a painting by the Austrian master, Hans Makart

MAXIMILIAN of Austria was kept fighting all his life to retain the Netherlands and his other kingdoms. He finally made them secure for his little son Philip, or rather, since Philip died young, for Philip's little son Charles. Philip had married a princess of Spain, so Spain too and all its new-found world of America became part of the heritage of the baby Charles. The child was thus born to be absolute lord over more territory, if we include his American possessions, than any other sovereign before or since. He was later elected Emperor of Germany also, as Charles V, and so became the chief sovereign of Europe.

His connection with the Netherlands was more intimate than with any other portion of his vast domains. In the first place, he was born there, born in Ghent in 1500. In the next place, as the enormous wealth of his future possessions was already recognized, the wealthy Flemings eagerly accepted him as one of themselves. They ignored his Austrian fatherhood and Spanish motherhood, and declaring the babe a Fleming, they welcomed him with pride. Brought up in Ghent, Charles spoke the tongue of Flanders and wore its garb. Moreover, he succeeded to supreme authority here before he did in any other country. As a lad of fifteen he was declared ruler of the Netherlands, and entered the city of Antwerp and thence passed to the other cities in royal procession. He was welcomed with every sort of pageant and with figures of allegorical splendor.

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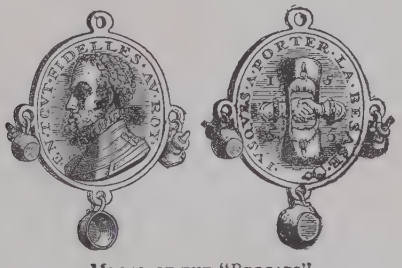
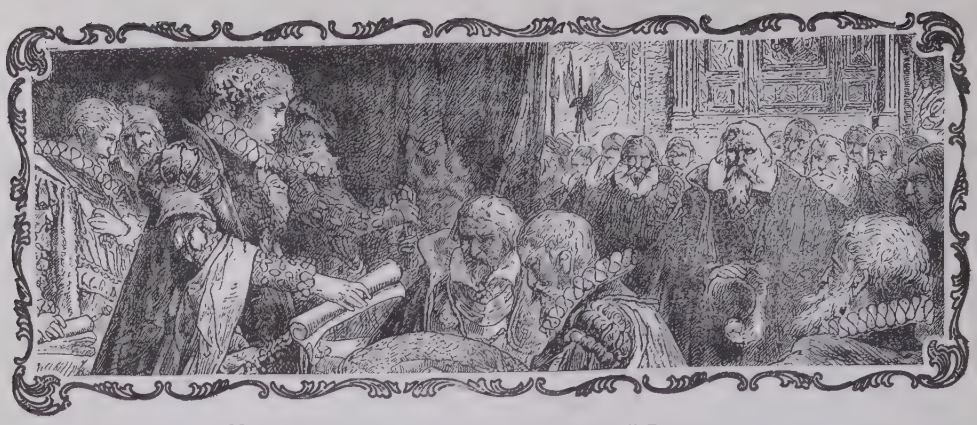
The outbreak was not even under way when Charles learned of it, and hastening from Spain, he gathered his Imperial armies and advanced into the city. For a month, he gave the burghers no warning of what he intended. Then he suddenly declared that the unhappy metropolis had forfeited all its rights and privileges whatsoever. The leaders of the recent movement were seized and executed; all the communal property of the city and of the guilds was confiscated; and the tribute demanded of the citizens was heavily increased. The great bell "Roland" used through all the heroic struggles of Ghent to summon the people hastily together, the palladium of their liberties, was removed from its tower. The people were to assemble for conference no more. Having gone thus far and ruined Ghent, Charles forgave its contemplated rebellion because, as he explained, he had been born there.

It is not however, to Charles alone that we must attribute the decay of Ghent and the other Flemish cities. Natural causes were at work. The discovery of America was shifting the commercial routes of the world. England had learned to turn her wool into cloth in manufactories of her own. Above all, the Low Countries were, as we have said, still unfinished by the hand of Nature. Gradually the rivers of Flanders were extending their mudbanks into the sea, choking up their own courses with shallow bars. Ships, moreover, were increasing in size. Bruges ceased to be available as a seaport. Ghent also lost much of its trade. By degrees, instead of Ghent and Bruges, we hear talk of Brussels and Antwerp. Thither the merchants removed with their ships and storehouses; and thither the nobles followed, and the artists, and the kings.

The new cities, upheld by imperial favor, inclined to be far more submissive to Charles than were their more ancient rivals. Yet it was from these new cities and their merchants that sprang up the final, great and celebrated "rebellion of the Netherlands," the heroic story which we now approach.



Medal of the "Beggars"



MARGARET OF PARMA RECEIVES THE "BEGGARS'" PETITION

Chapter V

THE GREAT REBELLION

[*Authorities:* As before, also Schiller, "Revolt of the Netherlands"; Versteeg, "The Sea Beggars"; Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic"; Prescott, "Reign of Philip II."]

THE era of Charles V was the era of the Reformation, and it was this religious upheaval that led to the great Netherland revolt. Yet the Netherlanders were not as a rule enthusiastic in the support of Luther. The attitude of Erasmus, the Dutch scholar of Rotterdam, the most learned writer of his time, may be taken as typical of that of his countrymen. They desired reform within the Church, not a violent breaking away from it. Most of the Dutch and Flemish churchmen were agreed that changes should be made. Even Charles V himself was convinced of this. Thoughtful men argued freely among themselves as to what should be the character of the reforms which seemed clearly at hand.

Hence the more violent attitude of those who would destroy the old Church altogether, found little sympathy in the Netherlands, except among the ignorant and the evil. A sect calling themselves Anabaptists sprang up in Holland, but committed such extravagances and atrocities that they were put down by the Dutch burghers themselves, men the most tolerant of their age to every form of religious faith. The "inquisition" as it was called, which examined into the beliefs of men, remained as it had existed for centuries, a duty of the civil magistrates. These continued their work as before, executing an occasional victim for heresy, as they would for any other crime, when they felt that public order positively demanded it.

In 1550 however, Charles determined that his civil magistrates were too lax

THE WORLD RULER GROWN OLD

(Charles V Listening to the Songs of the Flemish Girl Barbara)

From a painting by the Flemish artist, W. Geets

THE reign of Charles V covered the period of Europe's great religious upheaval, known as the Reformation. The rulers of the time took easily for granted the idea that the right which they had assumed over their subjects' property and lives conveyed also the right to dictate the subject's religion. Hence Charles V was kept so busy quarreling in his other domains that he had little time to devote to the Netherlands. Yet among all his many peoples the Netherlanders were the most loyal and the most obedient. They really loved him as one of themselves. Their reward was that, beyond sending them occasional orders about religious "heresy" and innumerable calls for money to pay his armies in other lands, Charles left the Netherlands almost entirely to their own government.

As to the money, the city burghers could afford to pay. So rich were they that they contributed to Charles' income almost as much as all his world beside. As to religion, the weight of his hand did not at first touch them heavily. When Charles was old and disheartened over what he considered the ingratitude of all the rest of his subjects, he came back to dwell among the people of his birthplace, Ghent. A young Flemish girl, Barbara Bloomberg, became his favorite companion, and he would sit for hours like any other world-worn old burgher, forgetting his many cares in listening to the music of her voice.

1546
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against this ever-increasing heresy. Lutheranism was robbing him of his power in Germany; he would take no risk of its gaining permanent root in the Netherlands. Hence he introduced there a form of Inquisition conducted by churchmen instead of civilians. This had already crushed out heresy in his Spanish domains; and, as the easy going Dutch and Flemish prelates seemed to him too mild, he brought Spanish Inquisitors to introduce their sterner judgments and crueler tortures. The Netherlanders were alarmed; they protested; a rigid, uncompromising Spanish priest might easily call every one of them a heretic. Yet they disapproved actual rebellion against the Church; they liked Charles; and so they submitted, though unwillingly. The Inquisitors began work; and though for some years they confined themselves to slaughtering the more extreme reformers, yet the stream of blood expanded into awful volume. Estimates disagree widely as to the number of these executions during the reign of Charles. They have been set as low as a single thousand, and as high as a hundred thousand.

Despite the persecution, the Emperor himself, the hearty, good-natured comrade, "one of themselves" as the Flemish burghers called him, retained his popularity in the Netherlands, and looked upon the country with a friendly eye. When, worn out with his life of toil, he resolved to abandon all his many thrones, Brussels, which he had made the capital of the Low Countries, was the city he selected for the ceremony of abdication.

As he closed his farewell speech to his "well-beloved subjects," the listening multitude were moved to honest tears, regretted their rebellions, and pledged themselves readily to be loyal to the son of this kindly monarch. That son, a youth of twenty-eight, afterward the celebrated Philip II of Spain, then arose to address the "Estates," and, speaking through an interpreter, promised to be even more devoted than his father to the interests of the Netherlands. The millennium of peace and mutual good will seemed surely to have arrived.

Probably no one of all those present suspected the terrible war that was to come. Philip himself, secret and subtle, knowing his own heart, may have seen nearest to the truth; but what Philip did not know was the sturdy spirit of these Netherlanders, whom he counted on crushing into submission to his will. Therein lay Philip's blunder. Unlike his father he had been neither born nor bred in Flanders. He was a Spaniard through and through. His haughtiness took constant offense at the free manners of the Flemings, and he hated as much as he despised them. Charles had ruled them through their own officials; he had even placed some of his trusted Netherland nobles in high position in Spain. Philip, despite his father's warning, reversed this and brought his Spanish associates to govern the unruly lowlands.

For a time all seemed well. The young sovereign promised many reforms. There was a war with France, and a great victory at St. Quentin (1557), due largely

to Flemish troops and to the brilliancy of their general, Count Egmont. A year later Egmont and his Flemish cavalry crushed another French army at Gravelines. The enemy was forced to a humiliating peace; and one of the secret articles of the treaty between Philip and the French king was that all the military forces of the latter were to be loaned to Spain, if needed to crush revolt in the Netherlands. Thus did their new sovereign measure and reward the loyalty of his people.

Here enters into the tale William, Prince of Orange, called William the Silent, the great antagonist of Philip. He ranked at the time with Egmont among the chief nobles of the Netherlands, and so high was his repute for ability that though only twenty-two at the time of Charles V's abdication, he had already become that monarch's most trusted counsellor. Indeed Charles, disappointed in his own son, who constantly opposed and defied him, had made the young Dutch noble in some sort a protégé, introduced him to the most secret interviews of state, and trained him in the methods of diplomacy. It was on the shoulders of this youthful counsellor, already nicknamed "the silent," that Charles leaned as he made his abdication speech; and the loyalty which William had given the father he seemed ready to transfer to the son. Philip, as we know, trusted no one; but the French king, not realizing this and seeing William apparently high in his sovereign's confidence, talked freely to the young man of the secret treaty against the Netherlands. The silent William, true to his name, listened witnout comment, and so learned of the destruction intended for his country.

Still he gave no sign, but continued on every occasion to proffer Philip wise and temperate advice,which was little heeded. In 1558 Philip, leaving the Netherlands for Spain, appointed as regent Margaret of Parma, his half-sister, an illegitimate daughter of his father. The departing sovereign had planned a trap for the "States-General"; he hoped that body, lulled by his professions of good will, would resign all its powers to Margaret until his return. Thus through his regent he would be able to rule as an absolute monarch, unrestrained by a protesting assembly. Instead the States-General, at William's suggestion, urged Philip to withdraw all the Spanish troops which upon one pretext and another he had quartered upon the country to overawe it.

Philip unprepared as yet to face open revolt, yielded with such grace as he could; but for one moment, as he stepped on shipboard, his wrath flamed out in his celebrated last interview with William. "It is you who have done this," he said, gripping the young Prince of Orange by the arm. "Nay, it is the States-General," responded William. "No," flashed out Philip, using an untranslatable form of address, insolent and contemptuous, "it is you, you, you!" Keen of insight as always, he knew that if strife came, it was not with a confused and many-headed States-General he would have to deal, but with this one composed and self-reliant youth.

SPAIN AND HOLLAND PART

(King Philip II Parts in Anger From Young William the Silent, Holland's Champion)

From a drawing in 1891 by Herman King

POOR old Charles V grew so disheartened over trying to regulate the world that he abdicated at last and gave half of his domains, including Spain and the Netherlands, to his son, King Philip II of Spain. Unfortunately the harmony which had existed between Charles V and his Flemings did not extend to Philip. Charles had been a Fleming himself, Philip was a thorough Spaniard. Under him the religious "Inquisition" became a horror in the Netherlands, and hounded the people into their great rebellion.

Their leader in this tremendous struggle was the chief of their nobles, William, the ruler of the little principality of Orange, known to history as the celebrated William the Silent. King Philip resenting the independent spirit of the Netherlanders, plotted to crush them with his armies. But as he himself was leaving for Spain, the Netherlanders, inspired by William, courteously insisted on the king's taking his Spanish army with him. Philip's plans were not yet matured for his attack, so he withdrew his army with feigned willingness. He could not, however, wholly restrain his temper. His keen mind saw clearly that it was Prince William who had maneuvered his defeat, and our picture shows the noted incident of their parting. As William made his dutiful farewells to the departing monarch, Philip seized him by the wrist and flashed out a warning that he knew what the young prince had done and meant to make him pay for it.

The strife soon came. From the safe distance of Spain, Philip sent word to the Netherland Inquisitors to increase their severity. He also commanded Margaret, his regent, to ignore the advices of the States-General and the charters of the people. A general protest arose, and grew more and more determined. Margaret, dreading the consequence, entreated her brother to be more lenient; and at his suggestion Count Egmont, the popular military leader, was sent to Spain to lay the matter more fully before him. The wily sovereign, seeking only delay, listened to Egmont's complaints with seriousness and apparent respect, promised to give heed to his mild advice, and then gave him to bear back to Brussels sealed letters which contained orders for yet greater cruelty (1565).

Open revolt now flared out at last. The magistrates in many places refused to obey the commands of the Inquisitors. A petition protesting against the king's orders was signed by thousands of prominent nobles, citizens, and even priests, and was presented to Margaret by the leaders of a vast procession representing every class of society. Trembling and distraught, the regent promised to do what she could.

"Are you afraid of these beggars?" demanded one of her courtiers, scornfully, referring not only to the rabble but to the lesser nobles among them, impoverished now that their ruler bestowed on them no favors. The sneer was repeated at a banquet held by many of the younger nobles who favored the revolt. Some cried out that they would accept the name thus given them in scorn. Their leader, De Brederode, promptly secured a beggar's bowl and wallet, and passing these around the tumultuous assembly swore to give up everything to the cause. The others joined him in the oath. William of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Horn, another member of the more conservative nobility who were striving to keep peace between the court and the people, happened in upon the banquet and drank the toast that was going round, "Long live the Beggars." From this event (1566) is usually dated the great "Revolt of the Netherlands."

To trace all the windings of the struggle, describe all its heroic moments, would far exceed our space. There were a few minor contests between small forces of Beggars and Royalists; then William and Egmont succeeded in restoring a temporary peace, Margaret yielding to the demands of the insurgents for religious toleration. The Protestants, thus released from immediate danger, appeared everywhere in great numbers; they seemed suddenly a majority among the people. The "image-breaking" furor swept over the country. Bands of frenzied peasants burst into churches and cathedrals, desecrating and destroying every object of worship and of art. The nobility and the Catholic members of the Beggars sought to punish these excesses; and so dislike and distrust were sown among the various forces of rebellion. King Philip by many treacherous devices increased the mutual suspicion that spread among the Netherlanders; and at the same time he despatched

to the country a Spanish army under his grim and terrible general, the Duke of Alva.

Then came the time for decision that tried men's souls. A united resistance might have held back the invaders; but few of the patriot leaders felt themselves compromised beyond hope of pardon. Count Egmont, having received from Philip letters of personal friendship and approval of his course, declared that he would again trust wholly to the sovereign who had deceived him; he would be loyal to the end, and oppose all rebellion. Count Horn took a similar attitude; and so high was the veneration in which these two were held that their course induced thousands of others to do the same. In vain did William of Orange plead with Egmont. "You will be the bridge," he told the somewhat pompous general, "over which the Spanish will enter our country." And he added with characteristic keenness, "Having entered, they will destroy the bridge."

Finding Egmont inflexible, and deeming resistance impossible without him, the Prince of Orange and his immediate associates withdrew into Germany. The two leaders parted amid tears, each lamenting what he considered the suicidal decision of the other.

"Farewell, landless Prince," said Egmont.

"Farewell, headless Count," responded William.

To the common people was also presented the same momentous problem, and while many took Egmont's course, many took William's. A hasty exodus began. Thousands fled to England; other thousands wended their way in long caravans across the German border. The regent Margaret entreated them to stay, she entreated Philip to recall his army. He would find himself ruling, she wrote, over naught but a desert. Finally on Alva's arrival, learning that his authority exceeded hers, she left the Netherlands in despair and retired to a religious life of quietude.

Alva and his army came (1567). The general received Egmont's welcoming speech with ominous scorn. His first public act was to summon the nobles to a general council, at which he arrested not only Egmont, but Horn and every other patriot who had ventured within his grasp, who had trusted Philip's promises. The Inquisition was revived in its most awful form. In addition to this a civil council was created to try the Netherlanders for treason. Its members were tools of Alva, and under his leadership the body soon became known by the frightful name, "the Council of Blood." It condemned thousands of patriots to the gibbet. It confiscated the estates of those who had fled. As soon as its authority was fully established, it sent Egmont and Horn the way of its other victims. They were beheaded in 1568.

Meanwhile the silent William seeing his forewarning so terribly fulfilled, had resolved upon new effort. All Europe was in protest against the horrors being

THE FEAR OF KING PHILIP

(The Netherlanders Flee Philip's Vengeance Despite His Sister's Promises)

From a painting in 1899 by Herman Grimm

FROM Spain, the center of his power, King Philip II kept sending orders to the Netherlands urging his ministers there to ever sterner and sterner cruelty. Especially did the "Inquisition" become a horror of robbery and murder. At length the people of many towns refused obedience to Philip's orders. The great revolt of the Netherlands thus began in 1566. As yet the people were divided; many clung to the side of the government. They fought among themselves, and then King Philip sent conciliatory orders promising to withdraw all objectionable laws and pardon everybody. Some of the Netherlanders believed and trusted him; some did not. He had deceived everybody so often before, that the wonder was he could still win faith anywhere.

The active fighting ceased; but a strange and memorable scene occurred. Thousands upon thousands of the rebels, instead of waiting for Philip's envoys of peace and pardon, left the country. Long trains of them marched away, carrying with them their families and all their possessions. Philip's regent in the Netherlands at the time was his half-sister, Margaret of Parma. She was a well-meaning woman, who seems to have really believed in her brother's promised leniency. Riding forth to meet the caravans of emigrants, she entreated them to remain, urged on them the folly and the hardships of their flight, and added her word to Philip's that they should be safe. The emigrants listened to her coldly, shook their heads in silence, and passed on out of the Netherlands to Germany.

enacted in the Netherlands. The Emperor Maximilian II wrote to Philip, his nephew, warning him that such severity must produce a revolution of despair William raised an army. In addition to his exiled friends, he found thousands of volunteers, German, French and English, to assist him.

Even before the execution of Egmont, William invaded Brabant, while his brother Louis led a detachment into Friesland. Louis, after one victory, was defeated by Alva; but with William, Alva avoided a contest There was clever maneuvring on both sides; then William, unable longer to support his army without funds, was obliged to disband it and withdraw. Alva returned unopposed to his executions and his extortions, to his Council of Blood.

For a time there was peace in the Netherlands, the peace of fear. Alva built a fortress in the heart of each great city and garrisoned these strongholds with Spanish troops. He increased his exactions; but his savagery had driven commerce from the Netherlands, and despite his every effort the provinces which had supplied two million ducats annually to the government of Charles V, now supplied to Philip less than their expenses. He had to send money from Spain wherewith to pay the sixty thousand troops who trampled the merchants under foot.

Naturally Alva was blamed for the deficiency; rumors became current that all taxes flowed into his capacious hands—and stayed there. Philip insisted that the Netherlands must pay for the troops. Taxes were doubled and redoubled; yet the troops remained unpaid. At last the merchants of Brussels, of the capital itself, situated under Alva's very eyes, refused him money. He could but hang them, they said, and payment had become impossible. The relentless duke erected gibbets before the doors of forty of the principal citizens. The order was given for the execution of each man in front of his own home. Then it was rescinded; for suddenly, not in Brussels but in distant Holland, the turning of the tide had come; the "revolution of despair" began, and even Alva saw that he must halt (1572).

The first success with which the Netherlanders now reopened their desperate war was gained by the "sea-beggars." These were a few scattered members of the "beggars' " conspiracy who, driven into exile, had become sea-robbers, roving vikings like the Norsemen of old. Many a ruined merchant joined them with a ship saved from the destruction of his fortunes; and, urged on by hunger, the wanderers plundered the coasts of the unhappy Netherlands, or seized the treasure ships of Spain, fleeing for shelter to the ports of England or Germany. At length, yielding to King Philip's repeated protests, both the Emperor and Elizabeth of England excluded the sea-beggars from their ports. This, which seemed to portend the ruin of the sturdy patriot pirates, proved their salvation. They appeared suddenly before the town of Briel in Holland, captured it almost without resistance, and held it in the name of William of Orange. Before his

exile William had been governor or "Stadtholder" of Holland and Zealand; he was known to be still trying to raise funds for another army to rescue his people. Now the daring exploit of the sea-beggars was like a spark set to the waiting train. All the northern provinces flashed into revolt. City after city expelled its Spanish garrison and declared for Orange. They did not, be it noted, claim independence; those were days when "independence" was still an unknown word in the mouths of common folk. The cities still acknowledged Philip as their overlord; they merely rejected Alva, and declared that, under Philip, William was their rightful governor.

Alva, driven by necessity, made truce with the semi-rebellious merchants in Brussels, and hurried northward to check this vaster outbreak. For seven months Haarlem resisted a Spanish siege. William, enabled to raise another army at last, sought to relieve the city, but in vain. Haarlem surrendered to starvation in the summer of 1573. The city was plundered, and every man of its garrison was slaughtered. The next spring Louis of Nassau, William's brother and chief aid, was slain and the troops under his command totally defeated by Alva. Leyden, besieged in its turn by the advancing Spaniards, held out with desperate heroism through thirteen weary months. Starvation crept hideously close.

Then came relief. The defense of the northern sections lay in the hands of the assembly of Holland, the largest province. The only successes of the patriots had been on the ocean, where the "sea-beggars" had repeatedly defeated the Spanish ships; and now William urged upon the assembly that the dykes must be opened in order that the ships of the sea-beggars might sail over the submerged farms and rescue Leyden. After violent dispute and solemn deliberation this course was adopted. The ocean was unchained; its destructive power was made welcome; and, aided by a favoring storm, the ships swept up to the very walls of the despairing city. The Spaniards fled and Leyden was saved (1575).

This was the turning point of the heroic war. The assembly of Holland asked the citizens of Leyden to name their own reward for the service their long resistance had done the common cause; and the burghers, to their glory be it recorded, chose to have a University founded in their town. So rose the University of Leyden, the great centre of religious freedom in northern Europe.

Alva had failed. His influence over King Philip was lost; he was recalled. His successor tried to rule by mildness, but it was too late. The sea-beggars held the ocean. Trade, driven by taxation from the southern provinces, poured into the North. The men of Holland were triumphant in their success, determined in their resistance. They insisted on retaining William as their leader, and would listen to no terms of agreement which did not include self-taxation and complete religious toleration, terms wholly impossible to Philip's views.

The Spanish soldiers, unpaid for years, broke into open mutiny against their

ALVA'S "COUNCIL OF BLOOD"

(The Terrible Duke Condemns the Netherlanders to Death)

From a painting by the German artist, G. A. Closs

THE fugitives from the Netherlands had well divined the grim purposes of King Philip. All authority in the Netherlands was now handed over to the able but terrible Duke of Alva. He entered the provinces with a Spanish army. He listened to the welcoming speeches of the cities with open scorn. He ordered the arrest of every person who had taken any part in the late revolt; and he established a council of creatures of his own, which tried each one of his prisoners on the charge of treason to King Philip.

This hideous council soon became known as the "Council of Blood." The Netherlands ran red with the blood of thousands of its best citizens. Margaret of Parma tried to save the victims, insisted that her word to them must be kept, though Philip's might be broken. Alva, acting under Philip's orders, swept her aside, and she retired in despair and horror to a convent. Alva and his master held the situation wholly in their hands, and they meant to crush the Netherlands into a submission utterly abject. Financially the country was ruined. Its trade, the source of all its wealth, disappeared. Margaret had sent word to King Philip that he would find himself ruling only over a desert. In part at least she was right. This region, which had been the main source of all Charles V's wealth, became to Philip a constant expense. Alva taxed and confiscated and killed; but there was no longer any money in the land, and he could not gather enough even to pay the expenses of his army.

leaders. Instead of marching against Holland, they plundered the submissive southern provinces. The "Spanish fury" swept over many cities, most notably Antwerp, which was seized by the mutineers and ravaged for three days with most hideous accompaniments of outrage and slaughter (1576). Driven by such miseries, the South joined the North in its resistance. The ancient privileges of Flanders and Brabant were once more insisted on, and a treaty of alliance, "the Pacification of Ghent," was arranged among all the "seventeen provinces" of the Netherlands.

In the face of this united opposition even Philip yielded, or at least he postponed the subjugation of the Low Countries to a more convenient period. He was completely bankrupt. He could neither pay his troops nor compel their obedience. No alternative was left him but submission. Another new governor was therefore sent to the Netherlands, Don John, the hero of Lepanto, most famous of the illegitimate children of Charles V. Don John agreed to the "Pacification of Ghent," agreed to everything. The Spanish soldiers were paid by the Southern provinces and marched for home.

For a time political intrigue superseded actual warfare. Don John endeavored to undermine the Prince of Orange. So also did the Flemish nobles, who were jealous of his power. But the common people everywhere learned to cling to him more and more, to see in him the one earnest patriot not to be duped by Spanish trickery, not to be bought by Spanish gold, nor even by promises of an almost imperial dignity. That these were offered him we now know from Spanish sources; but he remained true to his cause and his people. By these he was elected governor of Brabant as well as of the northern provinces; and finally he became the acknowledged leader of the entire Netherlands.

But even the genius of William could not keep the seventeen provinces in harmony. The South under Alva's stern hand had become thoroughly Catholic. Its revolt was only against its loss of liberty. The North on the contrary had become wholly Protestant, and William himself in the days of desperate struggle had openly adopted the new faith. "Calvus et Calvinista," he defined himself, "Plain and Protestant." Hence the northern provinces demanded from the South freedom of worship for themselves and their co-religionists; the southern provinces refused this. William, striving to keep peace, fell under suspicion from both parties. Soon Don John was able to raise a Catholic army against him. Once more there were victories and defeats. The Duke of Anjou, brother to the King of France, was invited by William and his adherents to become ruler of the Netherlands, that they might gain French assistance. This alliance so strengthened the Protestant party that Don John died of fever and disappointment, deserted even by Philip, who has been accused of poisoning him.

By 1580 the "Pacification of Ghent" had come to naught. The seven northern provinces had united themselves firmly into a single state under William's leader-

ALVA'S DOWNFALL

(Dragging the Tyrant's Statue Through the Streets of Antwerp)

From a painting now in the Antwerp Museum, by the Flemish artist, Charles Verlat

FOR eight years the awful tyranny of Alva desolated the Netherlands. The country was only saved from him by those exiles who had fled before his coming. Chief of these exiles was Prince William of Orange. He organized them into an army and led them back to fight for their homes and the rescue of their countrymen. Often they were defeated, for Alva was really a great general; but still they fought on in their desperation. Many of them had owned ships, and they gathered a strong navy, against which the Spaniards could not compete. These wandering, homeless "sea-beggars" saved their country. They gradually won control of all the northern provinces. City after city drove out its Spanish garrison and declared for William of Orange. He was made governor of Holland and Zealand, the provinces most surrounded by water and therefore open to the "sea-beggars." There were glorious heroic struggles at Haarlem, Leyden and other towns, until William held all the north and Alva the south. Then King Philip decided that Alva had failed, that severity was too expensive a policy in the Netherlands; so he recalled the terrible Duke and sent a "conciliatory" regent in his stead.

The moment Alva's back was turned the people roused to vent upon him their fury of execration. He had made Antwerp the chief city of the south, but even in Antwerp a mob tore down his statue and dragged it through the streets with every insult.

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THE DUTCH CAPITAL IN THE EAST INDIES

Chapter VI

GLORY AND DECAY OF HOLLAND

[*Authorities:* As before, also Motley, "Life and Death of John of Barneveldt"; Stirling-Maxwell, "Don John of Austria"; Butler, "Life of Grotius"; Traill, "William III."]

SPAIN had long predicted and confidently expected that the death of William of Orange would end the struggle in the Netherlands. Spanish grandees, even after all the years of heroic resistance, could not conceive of common people as acting for themselves, but persisted blindly in regarding them as the tools of a self-seeking aristocracy. The way in which William's sudden assassination was met, must have gone far to convince all Europe that these Dutch merchants were resolute as any knightly warrior and watchful as any courtly statesman. On the very day of the disaster, the Holland Council of State sent to each of its generals and absent members a grave and noble letter urging all to stand firm, since now the need of the land was greater than before.

The Netherlanders had not yet realized either their own strength or Spain's increasing weakness. They despaired of being able to continue the strife alone, and despite their disastrous experience with the Duke of Anjou, they sent ambassadors to both France and England, entreating that the royal houses would supply them with a king. Henry III of France and Elizabeth of England both seemed to look with favor on these appeals; and trusting upon kingly promises, the Netherlanders were slow in preparing for self-defense.

This reliance upon the exertions of others rather than upon themselves, re-

sulted in irreparable disaster, the loss of half the low countries to the cause of freedom. King Philip had at last secured a leader of real genius, Alexander, Prince of Parma, son of Margaret the former regent. Parma took advantage of the momentary lassitude of his foes. He acted while others stood at gaze. By threats and bribery and clever chicane, he detached one southern city after another from what seemed a falling cause. Soon, in all Flanders and Brabant, Antwerp was the only important centre which held out against him. This he besieged with rare military skill. The city was headless, a turmoil of confused, excited, and incapable advisers. "It is easily seen," cried he, as he noted the lack of unity and wisdom in the defense, "that the Prince of Orange is dead."

Antwerp lies on the bank of the Scheldt, which in its breadth and turbulence is rather an arm of the sea than it is a river. Parma constructed a marvel of engineering skill, a bridge that blockaded the Scheldt and resisted all the storms and tides of winter. The men of Antwerp sought to destroy the bridge, to blow it up with powder ships. Failing in the effort, they were starved into surrender. The Protestant merchants were compelled to return to Catholicism, or else were given two years to wind up their affairs and leave the country. Most of them departed into exile even before the time appointed. In the southern Netherlands, the region which is Belgium to-day, the revolt was over. The land became definitely separated from the better defended provinces of the North, and sank back into the grasp of Spain.

Let us follow briefly the future of this conquered district, which was known thereafter as the "Spanish Netherlands." King Philip, grown wiser through disaster, encouraged the burghers' feeling of nationality by making their land a semi-independent state. He conferred the sovereignty upon his daughter, Isabella, and her husband, the Duke of Austria. The entrance of Isabella into each city of her domain was made a celebration of peace, and hundreds of unhappy political prisoners were given their release. The years that followed are known as the Austrian or Austro-Spanish period of Belgium's history.

Isabella and her husband made the Netherlands their permanent home, and so also did their successors. They encouraged trade, they became patrons of art. Rubens and other famous painters flourished under them. Belgium's prosperity gradually revived. For two hundred years the "Spanish Netherlands" remained a sort of family estate, conferred by the Hapsburg sovereigns of Austria and Spain upon the younger sons and daughters of the house. Its story during this period was uneventful; and upon the whole, for a people who had apparently lost all desire for self-government, the centuries were neither unhappy nor unprosperous.

Meanwhile, in the north, the war continued. Of the "Seven United Provinces" which still defied the might of Spain, Holland was by far the largest; and gradually its name came to be used for the entire land. Henry III of France refused the

THE "SPANISH FURY"

(The Unpaid Spanish Soldiers Ravage the Netherlands for Themselves)

From a painting by the Flemish artist, K. Ooms

THE first fruits of Alva's downfall and King Philip's policy of conciliation were even more horrible than the previous severity. Alva had at least been a strong man who kept his own soldiers under control. He had no money to pay them, their wages were in arrears for years; but against Alva they dared not revolt. Scarcely was his iron hand withdrawn when the soldiers became clamorous for pay. At length they declared they would pay themselves and began ravaging the cities. All over the southern Netherlands they burst into most awful horrors of plunder and brutality. In Antwerp, which Alva had specially protected, their devastation was the most terrible of all. This outbreak was called the "Spanish Fury."

It was stopped by the "conciliatory" Spanish regent. The revolting troops were paid off and hurried home to Spain, and the southern Netherlands were again allowed some extent of self-government. This was possible because of Alva's bloody work. He had killed off every man of the south who dared protest. Only the most devoted Catholics remained, the souls most wholly submissive to authority. Thus the survivors in the southern Netherlands were actually ready to war upon their former brethren of the north, who now stood compact and free under William of Orange.

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sovereignty which the rebels offered him; but Queen Elizabeth sent them English troops and an English leader, her favorite, the Earl of Leicester. It was under Leicester that the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney took part in Holland's struggle and met his tragic death in the battle of Zutphen. The alliance of England with the Dutch had also much to do with King Philip's despatching the Spanish Armada against England, and Dutch ships took no small part in the succession of naval victories by which the Armada was destroyed. Its defeat meant fully as much to Holland as to England.

Gradually the scenes shift and the men; for this was a war of generations not of years. The Prince of Parma, unaided by Spain with either men or money, continued toiling at his impossible task of making armies out of nothing, until he died of despair. Leicester offended the Dutch burghers by his arrogance, and withdrew to England, as dissatisfied with them as they with him. Philip II also died; and his successor, Philip III, inherited the feeble struggle, inherited a bankrupt Spain exhausted of every military resource.

Only the "Seven Provinces" seemed to thrive upon the contest. The Protestant exiles from Belgium added to the population and wealth of the North, added also to the bitterness of the opposition against Spain. Unhampered by commercial restrictions at home, the Dutch became the masters of the carrying trade of the world. Their captains ventured even into the ports of Spain, and were welcomed there; for they brought food without which the improvident Spaniards must have starved. The daring visitors were accounted loyal subjects of King Philip—until they were out of harbor.

Their ships explored the earth and brought home wealth from every land. Spain and Portugal, temporarily united as a single state, claimed the sovereignty of America and Asia; but Dutch merchants ventured into the farthest Indies. In a celebrated contest off the coast of Malacca, a Dutch fleet manned by twelve hundred men defeated the entire Spanish navy of India, a force four times the size of the Dutch. The empire of Holland was thus established in the East, an empire of which she still retains some fragments after all the vicissitudes of three centuries of strife.

Two men rose to be leaders of Holland during this period of its expansion. One was John of Olden-Barneveldt, who stands among the purest patriots of any age, a statesman and financial genius. The other was Maurice of Nassau, younger son of the martyred William. Maurice became the chief military figure of the war. He originated a new system of siege and defense, by which he gradually forced back the Spaniards upon the frontier, capturing their fortresses one by one. As a general he was greater than his father, but as patriot and statesman he sank far lower. William had repeatedly been offered the kingship of the land, and had refused it. Maurice sought the high rank all his life, he schemed and

planned for it, and was refused. His chief opponent was the patriot Barneveldt, and at length Maurice so roused the people against their aged protector that Barneveldt was condemned and executed as a traitor (1619).

A reaction followed the excitement, and Maurice found himself farther than ever from his goal. He had long been governor or "Stadtholder" of the United Provinces; that was the highest he could rise. Fortune deserted him. The cause of freedom, stripped of the statesmanship and financial wisdom of Barneveldt, sank in the scale. Even those who had supported Maurice, began to point at him in horror. He died in 1625 a gloomy, disappointed man.

Still the war continued. From 1609 to 1620 there had been a truce in Europe, but in Asia the fighting was continued. Then the world-wide "Thirty Years' War" of Germany drew both Holland and Spain once more into the vortex of religious strife. Maurice was succeeded as Stadtholder by his younger brother Frederick Henry, who upheld the high reputation of his race. In 1628 the Dutch Admiral, Piet Heijn, captured the Spanish silver fleet and brought treasure worth millions of dollars into Holland. In 1639, Admiral Tromp attacked and completely destroyed a Spanish fleet of fifty ships in "the battle of the Downs" off England's coast. This completed the destruction of the vast navy of Spain, and raised the naval repute of Holland to the highest point.

The haughty house of Hapsburg, rulers of Spain and of the German Empire, saw their sea-power crushed by Holland and their armies exhausted by the Swedes in the German war. So at last the Emperor and the King of Spain, another Philip by this time, the fourth of the name, consented to the general peace of 1648, by which the entire independence of Holland was formally acknowledged. She took her place among the great Powers of Europe, not as a monarchy but as a republic. The house of Orange retained a very high authority as "Stadtholders," but the burghers had become fully accustomed to self-government. The States-General was the acknowledged authority of the land; and its members, dreaming of empire in the East, assumed all the airs of royalty. They officially styled themselves "The High and Mighty Lords."

No sooner however, was the peace with Spain completed than these High and Mighty Lords found themselves in conflict with another enemy. During the entire period of the "Eighty Years' War," England and the United Provinces had been the bulwarks of Protestantism against Catholic Spain; and their common interest had kept them more or less closely in alliance. As the commercial prosperity of Spain and Portugal grew less, that of England and Holland advanced with mighty strides. But now, with the complete downfall of the foe, the two conquerors were left to dispute over the spoils of victory, the merchant commerce of the world.

To any far-seeing eye, a business war between the two rivals, both keenly

DEATH OF WILLIAM THE SILENT

An Assassin from King Philip's School. By Julius C. Gesar (pictorial

DEATH OF WILLIAM THE SILENT

(An Assassin from King Philip Slays Holland's Great Chieftain)

From a painting by the German artist, W. Lindenschmidt

THE struggle against Philip's tyranny split the Netherlands in twain. For centuries after this tremendous contest, men spoke of two Netherlands. The southern or "Spanish Netherlands" remained a Catholic province. The northern region became the independent Protestant republic of Holland.

This definite assumption of the form and name of a republic was gradual in the north. At first there were seven separate provinces there, of which Holland was merely the strongest. William of Orange was its "Stadtholder," an office far more like that of a permanent king than of an elected president. Moreover, William and his followers kept offering the kingship of their land to France, to England, and to other states or princes, to any one, in short, who could protect them against Spain. But one royal ruler after another failed them. They could rely only upon themselves and the genius of their great chieftains.

The Spaniards came to believe that in William lay the whole heart and strength of the revolution. King Philip hired assassin after assassin to slay this "chief foe of the Church." William was zealously guarded by his people, and one attempt after another was defeated by their vigilance. At last, however, in 1584, he was shot on the stairway of his home in Delft and perished there amid his weeping friends.

grasping, both superbly self-confident, must have appeared inevitable. The quarrel grew rapidly. At length Admiral Blake in command of an English fleet fired a shot at a Dutch vessel; Admiral Tromp responded with a broadside; the memorable naval war began (1652). There were two years of desperate, deadly, glorious naval fights. On the whole the advantage was with the English, who had the heavier ships. But both Admiral Tromp and Admiral de Ruyter defended the Dutch coast with vigor and success, and won for themselves and their countrymen undying renown.

A peace was patched up in 1654, but the inevitable commercial antagonism led to a renewal of the strife in 1665. Holland lost her colonies in North America; but one of her fleets under De Ruyter penetrated up the Thames River almost to London and did incalculable damage to England's shipping, so a second peace was wrung from the startled Englishmen (1667). A year later Holland interfered in the war between Sweden and Denmark and by some vigorous sea-fighting compelled Sweden to accept her proposals of peace. For a moment the "Seven United Provinces" stood at the summit of their power, the dictators of the North.

The man who had led Holland to this height of influence and renown, was John De Witt, chief of the celebrated family of that name. Unfortunately it was he also who brought his country to the very verge of destruction. His attitude and that of the Dutch people in general was construed as an insult by the new "rising sun" in France, the youthful monarch Louis XIV. Or rather, to put it more broadly, the very existence of Holland, a republic, was felt as an insult by every sovereign of Europe. Here were these "mere tradesfolk" assuming airs of equality and even of superiority toward the most eminent royal houses. When in 1672, Louis suddenly proclaimed himself offended and without warning hurled his armies upon Holland, not a voice was raised in her favor. The English, mindful of recent injuries rather than more recent treaties, sent their fleet to join France in the attack.

Once more as in their memorable war with Spain, the Dutch stood alone, friendless and apparently overwhelmingly outnumbered. But now their cause seemed even more hopeless than before, because they were wholly unprepared for an attack by land. De Witt had persisted in courting alliance with France, in trusting upon Louis's friendship. No precautions had been taken against attack; the invading Frenchmen found their work at first a mere pleasure trip, a plundering expedition amid a helpless people. The infuriated Dutchmen cried out that De Witt was a traitor, that he had expected, nay invited this disaster. He and his brother Cornelis were slain by a mob in the streets of The Hague, savagely beaten and trampled almost out of recognition as human forms.

The martyrdom of these two pure and high-souled patriots left the way open for the return to power of the princes of Orange. The young heir of the house, now grown to manhood, was at once made Stadtholder as William III. In fact

SPANISH RULE IN THE SOUTH

(Isabella of Austria Frees Her Political Prisoners)

From a painting by P. J. van der Ouderaa

FOR over two centuries after the division of the Netherlands into north and south, the history of the southern or "Spanish" provinces is one of peace, and even of prosperity. King Philip, taught by costly experience that these provinces could only be made profitable by according them a certain amount of liberty of trade and self-government, erected the Spanish Netherlands into a semi-independent state. It became a sort of minor kingdom, a family heritage wherein younger sons and daughters of King Philip's Hapsburg race first learned and exercised the art of government.

This kingdom was first conferred on Philip's daughter Isabella and her husband the Duke of Austria. Isabella and her consort made a triumphal journey from city to city; and as evidence of her intent to be a friend and protector to her people, Isabella in each city liberated all the political prisoners. Moreover, this time the Spanish promise was kept. The cities really flourished under Isabella. Something of their trade revived, their wealth came back. They grew prosperous, and cultivated the arts. Rubens, the great Flemish painter, arose, and others scarcely less noteworthy. The people, governed in kindness, became apathetic and content.

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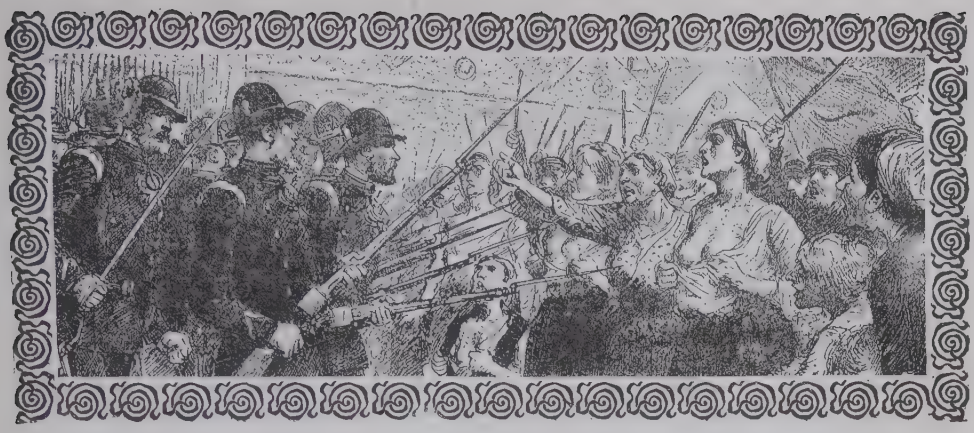

The Belgian Labor Strike

Chapter VII

LATER HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

[*Authorities:* As before, also Juste, "The Belgic Revolution"; Grattan, "The Belgian Revolution"; Alison, "History of Europe"; Schlosser, "History of the Eighteenth Century."]

THAT remains to be said of the Netherlands may be briefly told. The southern portion, the Spanish or as they had come to be called, the Austrian Netherlands, had been the main battle ground between Louis XIV and the European coalition. The land lay wasted and desolate. Holland, impoverished and exhausted, was in little better condition. Peace slowly restored both regions to a material prosperity, but not to that high national pride and vigor which had once made them famous.

Holland joined in the war of 1744 against France and lost what little prestige remained to her. The people, in an outbreak of resentment against their feeble government, not only restored the Stadtholdership to the house of Orange (1747), but declared it a permanent office and hereditary in the family forever. William IV, the Stadtholder thus appointed, was a nephew of William III; and his patriotism and ability seemed to promise him worthy of the renowned race from which he sprang. But his sudden death in 1751 left his rank to an infant son, William V, so that the difficult duties of the position fell into the hands of regents.

The first of these was the child's mother, Anne, a daughter of King George II of England; and after her death came the Duke of Brunswick, who was also intimately allied with the English royal house. The people of Holland felt that their

interests were deliberately sacrificed to those of their formidable commercial rival Dutch ships were openly seized by the British. Dutch colonies were appropriated, and finally in 1780 England, declaring war upon the helpless and wholly unready Provinces, seized what was left of their trade and their colonial empire. Only a few small districts in the farthest East remained to remind Holland of the vast regions she had once possessed.

By this time the young Stadtholder, William V, had grown to manhood; but matters failed to improve under his guidance. The people grew more discontented and rebellious; Prussian troops were loaned to William to strengthen his position; and the chiefs of the opposition or republican party were compelled to flee from the country. William became pracitically as absolute a sovereign as any of the little German princes along his borders (1787).

Then came the French Revolution. Already its spirit had invaded Holland. It had inspired the party in rebellion against William V. It roused the Belgians, and in 1789 they engaged in a short but fierce revolt against Austria. This was suppressed the following year, but it is no wonder that neither in Belgium nor Holland was there much desire to resist the advance of the French when the aroused revolutionists burst upon them proclaiming freedom with the sword, reasserting those doctrines of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" which the Netherland burghers themselves had been the first to champion in the face of monarchial Europe.

The Austrians were driven out of Belgium by the French victory at Jemappes (1792), and the land was annexed to France. Holland resisted longer; yet many Dutchmen fought on the side of the invaders; and, aided by the severity of the winter—the "French winter" it was called by the Hollanders—General Pichegru took possession of the land in 1795.

William V fled to England. The republican party among the Dutch formed an alliance with the Frenchmen, welcomed them as liberators, and formed a new government under a new constitution. Holland became the "Batavian Republic." The name was an empty form which did not long survive. In reality the land was a mere dependency of France, savagely tyrannized over by the French deputies sent to "advise" its government. In 1806, Napoleon converted it into a "Kingdom of Holland" for his brother Louis; and in 1810 it was formally incorporated, as the southern Netherlands had previously been, in the rapidly expanding empire of France.

The downfall of Napoleon in his Russian campaign found the Dutch common people as eager as the Germans to throw off a yoke which had become intolerable. They bore a valiant part in the struggles of 1813–14, and in the final campaign of Waterloo. The Stadtholder William V had died in exile; but his son, another William, returned from England to lead his people in their struggle. He was

ROYALTY AND THE REPUBLICANS

(The Soldiers of Louis XIV Burst with Cruel Ravage Upon Holland to Avenge His Dignity)

From an antique drawing by Romain de Hooghe

THE people of Holland had no such easy life as that of their former brethren further south. The Hollanders had made themselves independent; and thus freed of kingly tyranny they became a mighty nation. Their unrestricted trade brought to them the wealth of the world. They established colonies in the far East, which they still possess. They fought great naval wars, matching themselves on an equality with all the might of England. They were feared, and their favor was courted. Yet the kings of Europe could never forgive them for being a republic. It was forever galling to those haughty monarchs to have to deal on equal terms with "tradesfolk."

At length, in 1672, Louis XIV of France in the first splendor of his power declared that the Hollanders had insulted his dignity. For this "worthy cause" he suddenly hurled an army into their unprepared domains to plunder and slay, until "dignity" should be consoled by sufficient murders. Holland was driven to the point of despair, and only saved herself from complete conquest by the desperate expedient of opening her dykes and drowning her own land. This drove the Frenchmen back; and the Dutch leader William III married an English wife, got himself made King of England and defeated Louis in the end. He won his triumph, however, as an English leader. Exhausted Holland sank back to a minor place in Europe's warfare.

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received with a warm affection that forgot former causes of dispute and remembered only his race, the great race of Orange, and its long devotion to the cause of Holland. The nation had been surfeited with republican forms of government; the stadtholdership was abolished; William was eagerly invited to become a king and in March, 1814, was solemnly inaugurated as King William I.

In the general rearrangement of European affairs undertaken by the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, it was universally agreed that this new "Kingdom of Holland" should not only be accepted but enlarged, so that it might become a real restraint upon France's northern border. Austria, receiving compensation elsewhere, surrendered its outworn claim upon Belgium; and once more after the lapse of centuries all the low countries were reunited into a single state, the "Kingdom of the Netherlands," under the sovereignty of William I, no longer Prince of Orange, but King of the Netherlands.

This ill-advised union of Belgium and Holland lasted only fifteen years. It had indeed been hopeless from the beginning, a purely geographical alliance which took no account of the differences of religion and race, nor of the even keener antagonisms roused by centuries of alienation and war. Nobody really desired the union except a few purblind diplomats and the ambitious King William. The Dutch accepted it with hesitation. The Belgians were not consulted at all. They felt themselves treated as a conquered and dependent people; and when the French revolution of 1830 gave them the impulse and opportunity, they rushed immediately to arms and proclaimed their independence.

The Dutch however, had become proud of their superior position in the union; they would not lightly relinquish it. King William, grown old and narrow, was haughty and uncompromising. A Dutch army attacked Brussels and was vigorously resisted by the citizens. There were four days of fighting in the streets. Barricade after barricade was stormed by the Dutch troops, but always there were others beyond, and at length the invaders were compelled to retreat. Belgian independence had been sealed in blood.

Everywhere throughout the country the people rose in arms. The Dutch garrisons were driven out. The most notable struggle was in Antwerp, where the Dutch troops, driven from the streets, took possession of the citadel and bombarded the city they were supposed to be protecting. Both France and England intervened. If Belgium was so determined on independence, the great Powers would no longer stand as sponsors for the union they had created. So the Netherlands were again declared divided. Belgium was allowed to select a king of its own from the royal families of Europe, and after negotiation with two or three candidates conferred the dignity upon a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Lines of demarcation between Belgium and Holland were then agreed to by the Powers, though naturally the boundaries assigned satisfied neither of the belligerent little

states. The new king, Leopold, had scarcely entered his new kingdom when an army of nearly eighty thousand Dutch troops poured into it. William of Holland had decided to defy Europe and reassert his sovereignty (1831). The astonished Belgians were defeated in two slight battles. Leopold appealed to France and England for aid; and a French army entered Belgium, while a British fleet descended upon the coast of Holland. Confronted by such overwhelming odds, King William yielded as ungraciously as possible, disputing all the negotiations, which were only finally completed in 1839.

Belgium thus stands as a sort of god-child to the neighboring great Powers, fostered by their care. King Leopold proved a model constitutional sovereign, undertaking seriously and successfully the duties of his position. His death in 1865 was deeply mourned by his people, and his son, King Leopold II, was enabled to begin his reign under the most favorable auspices. Unfortunately he devoted himself less to the guidance of his country than to a career of pleasure and the accumulation of enormous wealth. A large portion of central Africa was by a conference of the European Powers conferred upon Belgium for development, or rather upon King Leopold; and hideous tales have reached the world, of horrors inflicted upon the natives. In 1908 this region was formally annexed to Belgium by treaty.

Belgium during King Leopold II's reign progressed rapidly, not because of this unkingly king; but without him. The political struggles of the lower classes have been desperate; and by degrees they have secured the extension of the right of suffrage until it is now nearly universal. Unduly repressed and partly ignored, the laborers many of them turned socialists; and labor strikes, tumults, riots and even bloody insurrections frequently darkened Belgium's path of commercial prosperity.

King Leopold died in December of 1909, and even in his death left behind another scandal. He had bequeathed his enormous and ill-gotten wealth to gay friends or to state institutions, and so far as possible kept it from his own children. Two of his daughters who had long broken away from him brought suits in the courts to recover his fortune; and thus the details of the unkingly fashion in which it had been expended were given to the public.

The new king, Leopold's son Albert I, began his reign amid the high hopes of his people, who knew that he had disapproved his father's courses, and that he had often shown himself a warm friend to all his people and especially to the laboring classes. Hence his influence was confidently expected for reform. Under the Belgium system of allowing extra votes to men of property and education, the working classes have been unable to assert themselves. At length, in 1912, when the elections once more confirmed in power the conservative upper classes, the laborers prepared a great political strike. This

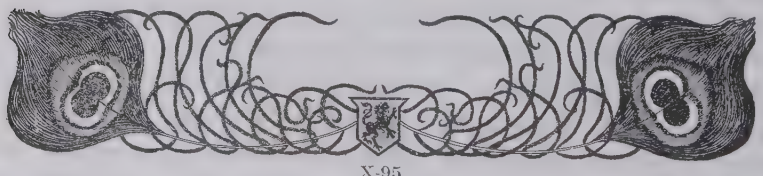
QUEEN WILHELMINA'S WEDDING

(The Queen Amid the Prayers of Her People Weds the German Duke Henry)

From a painting on the spot by E. Limmer

WHEN all Europe was reconstructed after the upheaval of Napoleon's days, the Netherlands were erected into a little independent kingdom under Holland's rule. The southern Catholic provinces, however, had been so long estranged from the north that they insisted on a separate independence and fought for it. Thus the Netherlands became divided into Holland and Belgium. The existence of these two little kingdoms is guaranteed by the great Powers of Europe, so that they give every promise of remaining as permanent states.

Holland, more accustomed to self-government and with its proud traditions of liberty behind it, has been the more successful state of the two. Its monarchs are descended from the celebrated family of William the Silent, and are deeply loved and trusted by their people. The present queen, Wilhelmina, came to the throne as a young child in 1890. Her people urged her to marry, so as to perpetuate their beloved race of rulers; and in 1901 Wilhelmina made choice of a German prince for her husband, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg. The pair were wedded in the great church of The Hague surrounded by all Wilhelmina's devoted subjects. There is no country in Europe whose people seem more happy, prosperous and well-content.



profound upheaval shook Belgium to its center in 1913; but young King Albert still struggles for his people and still retains their confidence.

In Holland meanwhile there has been far greater national sentiment and greater unity of feeling; hence her course has been one of peace and progress. King William I abdicated in 1840, soon after he had been finally compelled to consent to the formal release of Belgium. His son, William II, ruled until 1849, when he was succeeded by his son, William III. This king, grown old and feeble minded, died in 1890 without male heirs, so that the throne passed to his ten-year-old daughter Wilhelmina. For several years the child's mother ruled as regent, but in 1898 Wilhelmina assumed full sovereignty amid the congratulations of all nations. She soon selected a husband suited to her taste, a dashing young Prussian officer, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg. The choice was approved by her devoted people; Duke Henry was created a general, and also "Prince of the Netherlands," and in 1901 the happy pair were wedded with splendid ceremonials at The Hague. Rumor has since represented them as proving less congenial to each other than their subjects hoped. A daughter was born to the queen in 1909, and became the heiress of her mother's crown.

Wilhemina makes an excellent ruler; she is devoted to her people, and they to her. She has also brought her country into note as the seat of the International Peace Conference, which held its first meeting at The Hague in 1899, and has since by the young queen's invitation made her capital its home. A second great Peace Conference was held there in 1907, on which occasion a splendid Palace of Peace, gift of Andrew Carnegie, was erected as a permanent home for the tribunal.

Only one shadow has recently disturbed the quiet of this sturdy little kingdom. The government in 1912 planned to devote large sums of money to making the port of Flushing a great naval fortress. This was felt by England to be a sign of German influence. Germany was supposedly eager to have the Dutch seacoast made strong against English ships, while the land frontier bordering on Germany itself lay wholly undefended. A similar condition had been noted in Belgium the year before when France and Germany had been at quarrel and Belgium was shown to be unprepared to prevent Germany from invading and using her territory as a basis of attack on France. Hence France and England have both accused the Netherlands of "Germanizing" tendencies. Holland has answered by protesting strongly her unalterable resolve to remain wholly independent; and Belgium, in 1913, increased her army budget so that she now stands ready to defend her hard-won territory against all intruders. Thus even on these two tiny states is laid the heavy burden of Europe's military policy.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NETHERLANDS

B.C. 58—Cæsar begins the conquest of the Belgæ and Nervii. A.D. 28—Roman conquest of Frisia. 70—Civilis heads a Batavian rebellion. 280(?)—Invasion of the Franks. 481(?)—Clovis leads the Franks out of the Netherlands. 622—Dagobert reasserts Frankish dominion and founds the first Christian Church at Utrecht. 692—Pepin conquers King Radbod. 695—Willibrod made first Bishop of Utrecht. 755—Bishop Boniface martyred. 785—Charlemagne begins the conquest of the Frisians. 843—Treaty of Verdun includes the Netherlands in Lotharingia. 864—Baldwin of the Iron Arm weds the Emperor's daughter and becomes Count of Flanders; his domain is attached to France. 880—The rest of the Netherlands annexed to Germany. 911—Lorraine added to France. 923—Dirk I rules as first Count of Holland. 1036—Baldwin V makes Flanders practically independent. 1061—Floris I of Holland overthrown by the Bishop of Utrecht; Holland saved by Robert of Flanders. 1127—Assassination of Charles of Flanders and revolution of the people of Bruges; rise of the communes. 1248—William of Holland made Emperor of Germany. 1301—Philip of France confiscates Flanders. 1302—The "Bruges Matins"; Battle of Courtrai. 1335—The Flemish cities under Jacques Van Artevelde dragged into the Hundred Years' War between France and England. 1345—Death of Van Artevelde; supremacy of Ghent. 1382—Overthrow of Philip Van Artevelde and the Communes at Roosebeke. 1384—Flanders passes to the house of Burgundy. 1417—Death of William VI of Holland and accession of Countess Jacqueline. 1428—Jacqueline transfers her authority to Philip of Burdundy. 1436—Death of Jacqueline; war of Burgundy with England. 1477—Death of Charles the Bold leaves the Netherlands to his daughter Mary; the "Great Privilege" granted to the citizens. 1482—Death of Mary; Maximilian, her husband, imprisoned by the Brugeois. 1492—The Netherlands completely subjugated by Maximilian. 1515—Charles V made Count of Flanders and Holland, etc. 1540—Charles crushes Ghent for its rebellion. 1550—He establishes the Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands. 1555—Charles abdicates to his son, Philip II of Spain. 1559—Philip withdraws to Spain, Margaret of Parma regent. 1566—The "beggars" present their petition; image-breaking furor. 1567—Alva reaches the Netherlands; William of Orange and many patriots flee; the "Council of Blood." 1568—Execution of Egmont and Horn; William of Orange begins the Eighty Years' War. 1572—Alva's tyranny drives even Brussels to revolt; the "sea-beggars" seize Briel; the burghers rise everywhere against Spain. 1573—Siege and sack of Haarlem; Alva recalled to Spain. 1574—Siege of Leyden; its rescue; University of Leyden founded. 1576—The "Spanish Fury" at Antwerp; Don John of Austria arranges a truce. 1580—The northern provinces

THE BELGIAN LABOR TROUBLES

(The Belgians Demand "One Man, One Vote" and Refuse to Listen to the Arguments of Capital)

From a painting by Robert Kohler

THE recent career of Belgium has been less happy than that of her sister kingdom. Having no hereditary sovereigns of their own, the Belgians necessarily chose a foreign king, a German; and his descendants have never won the confidence and devotion of their people, as have the royal race of Holland. Hence there has been in Belgium no ameliorating influence to soften the modern clash of classes, aristocracy against democracy, the rich against the poor. In Belgium, labor troubles have taken a hard and bitter course. There have been many strikes, and in 1912-13 there arose great strikes, which were political rather than financial.

Belgium has long had a system of "plural voting," that is, men of wealth, position or education have two or three votes apiece. This has enabled the upper classes to retain power in all elections; and at last the laborers have reached the point of refusing to submit. Their Civil War has not been carried on, as in old times, by bullets, but by strikes. These cost Capital just as much, and cannot be so readily suppressed by armed force. Thus the strife of Capital and Labor in Belgium holds the attention of all the world. Warfare seems passing out of military hands, discarding military weapons and entering the field of economic strife.

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declare their independence. 1581—They offer the sovereignty to William of Orange; he proffers it to Anjou; union of the "Seven Provinces." 1583—The "French Fury" at Antwerp; Anjou flees to France. 1584—Assassination of William of Orange. 1585—Parma captures Antwerp; final break between the northern and southern provinces; Leicester leads an English army to Holland's help. 1591—Maurice of Orange begins his victorious career. 1596—Founding of the Dutch East India Company. 1598—The "Spanish Netherlands" conferred on Albert and Isabella of Austria. 1605—Destruction of the Spanish Indian fleet off Malacca; establishment of Holland's supremacy in the East. 1609—Truce with Spain. 1619—Maurice executes the patriot Barneveldt. 1621—War with Spain re-opens. 1624—Founding of New Amsterdam in America. 1628—Piet Hein captures the Spanish silver fleet. 1637—The tulip mania. 1639—Admiral Tromp destroys the Spanish sea-power. 1648—Final peace with Spain. 1652-4—First great naval war with England. 1665—Second naval war. 1667—The Dutch burn the Thames shipping; peace with England. 1672—Louis XIV invades Holland; England joins him; murder of the De Witts; William III made Stadtholder; opening of the dykes. 1689—William becomes King of England; forms various coalitions against Louis XIV. 1702-9—Victories of Marlborough. 1713—Treaty of Utrecht leaves Holland exhausted. 1747—William IV made hereditary Stadtholder. 1780—England declares war and seizes Holland's colonial possessions. 1787—Revolt in Holland suppressed by William V. 1789—Rebellion in Belgium against the Austrians. 1792—French win the victory of Jemappes and annex Belgium. 1794-5—French overrun Holland; they aid in its reorganization as the "Batavian Republic." 1806—Napoleon creates a "Kingdom of Holland" for Louis Bonaparte. 1810—Holland annexed to the French empire. 1813—Uprising against the French. 1814—William of Orange made king by his people; Belgium and Holland united as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. 1830—Revolt of Belgium; battle in Brussels; Powers accede to Belgian independence. 1831—Leopold of Saxe-Coburg chosen King of Belgium; Dutch troops invade the land; they yield to France and England. 1839—Holland finally assents to Belgian independence. 1865—Leopold II becomes King of Belgium. 1885—He is declared king of the Congo Free State. 1890—William III of Holland succeeded by his child daughter Wilhelmina. 1892—Serious labor riots in Belgium. 1898—Coronation of Queen Wilhelmina. 1899—International Peace Conference at The Hague. 1901—Wedding of Queen Wilhelmina. 1902—Holland proffers her services for peace in the Boer War. 1907—Second Peace Conference held. 1908—Belgium annexes the Congo Free State. 1909—King Leopold II dies and is succeeded by his son, Albert I. 1912—Holland plans a naval fortress at Flushing. 1912-13—The laborers of Belgium enforce a great political strike to secure equal franchise.

Absalon (ahb'sah-lŏn)
Achmet (ahk'mĕt)
Ælla (ĕl'lă)
Angeln (ahng'ĕln)
Anjou (ŏn-zhoo')
Anscarius (ăn-skā'rĭ-ŭs)
Arkona (ahr-kō'nă)
Artevelde (ahr'tă-vĕlt)
Astrakhan (ahs-tră-kahn')
Axel Hvide (ahk'sĕl-hvīd')
Azov (ah-zŏv')
Baghdad (bahg-dahd')
Bajazet (băj-ă-zĕt')
Bjorn (be-yōrn')
Batavia (bă-tā'vĭ-ă)
Borselen (bōr'sĕ-lĕn)
Bouvines (boo-vēn')
Brabant (brah'bănt)
Bruges (brū'jĕz)
Brusa (broo'sah)
Buda (boo'dă)
Canute (kă-noot')
Caramania (kah-rah-mahn'ĭ-ă)
Cerestes (kā-rĕs'tēz)
Civilis (sĭ-vī'lĭs)
Colberg (kōl'berg)
Copenhagen (kō'pĕn-hā'gĕn)
Courtrai (koor'trā)
Djen (jĕn)
Dordrecht (dort'rĕkt)
Drusus (droo'sŭs)
Ertoghrul (ĕr-tŏg'ghrŭl)
Fehrbellin (fair-bĕl-lēn')
Fjord (fe-yōrd')
Frederikshald (frĕd'ĕr-ĭks-hahld)
Friesland (frēz'lănd)
Gallipoli (găl-lĭp'ō-lĭ)
Ghent (gĕnt)
Gravelines (grahv-lēn')
Guntz (guēnts)
Haarlem (hahr'lĕm)
Hainault (hā-nō')
Housein (hoo-sīn')
Hunyadi (hoon'yŏd-ē)
Iconium (ĭ-cō'nĭ-ŭm)
Idstedt (ĭd'stĕt)
Ingermanland (ĭn'gĕr-măn-land)
Jacqueline (zhahk'līn)
Jemappes (zhā-mahp')
Jotun (yēr'tŭn)
Kalmar (kahl'mahr)
Karasi (kah-rah'sĭ)
Karelia (kahr-ā-lē'ă)
Khara (kah'rah)
Knut (knoot)
Kossova (kŏs-sō'vă)
Leipzig (līp'sĭk)
Leyden (lī'dĕn)
Liege (lē-āzh')
Lille (lēl)
Louvain (loo'văn)
Lund (loond)
Mahmud (mah-mood')
Malkkatoon (mahl-khă'toon)
Marizza (mah-rĭt'să)
Mohacs (mō-hahch')
Murad (moo'răd)
Mustapha (moos'tah-fah)
Narva (nahr'vah)
Nymwegen (nĕm-wā'gĕn)
Osman (ŏs-mahn')
Oxenstjerna (ŏks'ĕn stĕr-nă)
Pultowa (pŭl-tow'ă)
Ragnar Lodbrok (rahg'năr-lōd'brōk)
Roosebeke (roos'bek)
Rugen (ruē'gĕn)
Saoudji (sah-ood'jĭ)
Scania (skah'nĕ-ă)
Schleswig-Holstein (shlās'wēk-hōl'stīn)
Selim (sē'lĭm)
Sinope (sĭn-ō'-pē)
Sweyn (swān)
Szigeth (sē'gĕt)
Tabriz (tah-brēz')
Trebizond (trĕb'ĭ-zŏnd)
Ukraine (ū'krān)
Upsala (up-sah'lah)
Waldemar (wŏl'dĕ-mahr)
Wallachia (wŏl-lā'kĭ-ă)
Wisby (wĭz'bĭ)
Yngling (ēng'lĭng)
Zealand (zē'lănd)

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